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The Catholic Historical Review

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THE BOLLANDISTS.

In 1603, Father Oliver Manare, visitor general of the Society of Jesus, made his inspection of the houses of the province of Belgium. In Antwerp, he asked the prefect of studies in the college of that town, Father Herbert Roswey or Rosweyde (a Dutch Jesuit, born in Utrecht, January 21, 1569), whether he had any suggestion suitable to promote the glory of the Church and the renown of the Society. The learned priest answered him that he had wondered several times at the great number of apocryphal tales, of anachronisms, and falsehoods that impaired the native beauty of the lives of many saints. The libraries of Belgium were filled with precious hagiographic manuscripts. It would have been a noble task to gather, examine and publish these documents with critical apparatus, throwing light upon the history of the Church and of Catholic Nations, "I am ready, he concluded, to take upon myself this hard task, if the Superiors welcome my proposition, and allow me leisure to achieve it."

A memorandum, explaining the purposes of the learned Jesuit, was sent to Rome, and submitted to the general of the Society, Father Claudius Acquaviva, who gave his hearty approval to it. Father Rosweyde did not foresee that he was laying the foundation of one of the greatest literary institutions of the Catholic Church. Like Columbus, his name does not designate the gigantic undertaking, of which he was the initiator. It is, however, a recognized fact that the earliest volumes or pages of the Bollandists bear his name. The plan of exploiting the inex-

haustible sources of Christian hagiography had its origin in his mind.

The scholars of the Reformation looked at them superciliously. In their opinion, the lives of the saints were vagaries or hallucinations of monks, the products of popular superstition, the forgeries of pious speculators. They afforded no material for scientific investigation. They fostered credulity, and were destined to be swept away by the spread of the critical method applied to history. Father Rosweyde arose against the sectarian assertions of the Reformation critics. Like all branches of learning, Christian hagiography is not free of dross. It contains, however, invaluable gems. It introduces its students into the remotest recesses of the popular soul; it is a dazzling lamp to the searchers into the psychology of a nation; it sets forth clearly the minutest details of a life of a people, of their customs, traditions, institutions, language, thought, periods of brilliancy and periods of decay. Hence it follows that civil, literary and religious history ought to utilize these resources.

In 1607, Father Rosweyde outlined in a small volume the plans of his undertaking. He acknowledged the magnitude of his task. One man alone would have failed at the task of taking an inventory of the riches concealed in the field he proposed to investigate. He had planned to publish the materials gathered in the libraries of Belgium in eighteen volumes, beginning with the life of the eternal source of sanctity, Jesus Christ, our Lord.¹

Strange to say, words of discouragement came from those who by their labors and zeal would have lent him a helpful hand. Cardinal Bellarmine did not approve of his proposal. The great controversialist who had withstood so successfully the Lutheran onslaught, deprecated the publication of hagiographic materials. The task, he thought, required for its achievement centuries of labor and tremendous expense. Besides, the original texts and sources of the lives of saints, according to his view, were a dangerous weapon in the hands of the enemies of the Catholic Church. They were filled, he declared, with absurd tales, frivol-

¹ *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in Belgio Bibliothecis manuscriptae asservantur*. Antwerp, 1607.—*Memoriale* by P. Heriberti institutum quoad Sanctorum historias et vitas illustrandas, inserted in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, Louvain, T. V., p. 263-270.

ity, errors; they would provoke laughter rather than edification. According to Bellarmine, for the fostering of Christian piety a re-edition of the *Lives of Saints* by Surius and Lipomano would have served better.

Father Rosweyde did not lose his enthusiasm. Influential scholars and churchmen supported him and stimulated his zeal. He could not, however, put his work definitely on foot until 1612, when his superiors assigned him to the professed House in Antwerp. Here he lived a life of intense labor. His literary activity embraced all branches of learning. He was at the same time hagiographer, controversialist, theologian, teacher. In 1613 he published a masterly edition of the *Martyrologium of Adon*, and in 1616 the *Vitae Patrum*, the corner-stone of the *Acta Sanctorum*, to quote an expression of Father Hippolyte Delehaye.² This volume, in folio, became the indispensable guide for the study of the earliest monasticism in Egypt and Syria. Father Rosweyde gathered there all the ancient sources relating to that interesting subject. His method was strictly scientific. The sources were corrected from numerous manuscripts in both Greek and Latin; they were enriched with notes and explanations; they were preceded by dissertations on their authors, translators, dates of composition, original languages, manuscripts utilized for their correct edition, and were followed by most comprehensive geographical and historical tables. Father Rosweyde was allowed to lay only the corner-stone of the collection planned by him. He had worn out his health with his ceaseless labors. In 1628, he published a second edition of his monumental work.

After his death, his superiors, without knowing the vastness of the task assumed by Father Rosweyde, charged Father John Bollandus, prefect of studies in the college of Mechlin, to examine the papers left by his deceased confrere, and to report whether they were available for further publication. Father Bollandus was 36 years old. He was born at Julemont, in the province of Limburg, in the year 1596. He was already known by the depth of his erudition, and his love of classical literature. He found that it was necessary to modify the plans of the founder of the

² *Vitae Patrum*. Antwerp, 1615: Lyons, 1677.

Acta Sanctorum. According to his view, all the saints, known and unknown, were to be included within their projected collection. His continuators were to search for all the data concerning the heroes of sanctity.³

He himself began the arduous task of collecting hagiographic material. He carried on a voluminous correspondence with the most learned men and borrowed documents from the richest libraries of Europe. After a few years, the texts and notes collected by him or sent by his correspondents were so numerous as to convince him that the task was beyond the individual strength of a single man. His superiors, to whom he submitted the problem felt the justice of his request, and decided to give him a collaborator. The choice fell upon Father Godfrey Henschen or Henschenius. He was born at Venray in 1601. Father Henschenius was a Latinist and Hellenist of great repute, and a former pupil of Bollandus. When he came to assist his teacher in 1635, Bollandus had already completed and made ready for publication, the volumes devoted to the saints of January. He confided to him the saints of February. Father Henschenius started at once on his work. After a short delay he submitted to his master commentaries on the lives of Saint Vaast and Saint Amand. This first essay opened new channels in the scientific study of the hagiographic texts. The editor compared the different biographies of the same saint, cleared it of all the obscure passages, placed the saints in the proper setting of their age, and their contemporaries.⁴

In reading the manuscript of his collaborator, Bollandus got immediately a clear idea of the method to be followed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. His former pupil had given to him a lesson of a master. In his humility, he made up his mind to stop the publication of the volumes already prepared, and to rewrite them with the help and the suggestions of Henschenius. Thanks to the fraternal co-operation of the two great scholars, in 1643, fourteen years after the death of Rosweyde, the learned world welcomed

³ D. PAPEBROCHIUS. *Tractatus de vita, virtutibus et operibus Ioannis Bollandi*, *Acta Sanctorum*, t. I. Mart., 1668, p. I-XLVII; M. F. V. GOETHALS, *Lectures relatives à l'histoire des sciences, des arts, des lettres, des mœurs et de la politique en Belgique*. Brussels, 1837, t. I, p. 147-160.

⁴ M. F. V. GOETHALS. op. cit., t. II, p. 201-218.

the two first volumes in folio of the *Acta Sanctorum*, covering the month of January.⁵

Bollandus was hailed as the pioneer of a new branch of learning in the history of the Church. He regretted that his associate did not share in the praises that came upon him, and he asked Henschenius to sign his dissertations in the volumes of February. Henschenius was too humble to accept the suggestion of the older man, and the volumes of February appeared under the veil of anonymity.

In 1658, Alexander VII and several cardinals invited Bollandus to visit Rome and become acquainted with the treasures of the Roman libraries. Bollandus excused himself for declining the invitation. His poor health did not allow him to undertake a long trip. He sent, in his stead, Father Henschenius and a new and gallant collaborator, Father Daniel Papebrock (Van Papenbroeck). They left Antwerp July 22, 1660, and by way of Germany and the Tyrol, they arrived in Italy. The doors of all the libraries, archives, private collections opened before them. Everywhere they received cordial welcome, even from Protestants. They reached Rome on the eve of Christmas, 1660, and remained there till the 3rd of October, 1661. Alexander VII received them with greatest pleasure and requested Holstenius, the librarian of the Vatican, to place at their disposal all the hagiographic manuscripts preserved in the Roman libraries. Day and night they devoted themselves to the drawing up of the inventories of the hagiographic codices. Not a minute was lost by them even for the purpose of visiting the monuments of the eternal city. It was a great misfortune that Holstenius died during their stay in Rome. He did his best to help them, and in his agony, he asked Father Henschenius to recite at his bed the last prayers of the Church.

His successor, Peter Allatius, was far from making their research easy. He saw in them competitors, who strove to deprive him of the glory of publishing himself the venerable documents of Greek hagiography. His varied literary undertakings did not allow him to print the Greek texts that passed under his hands:

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot tote orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, Antwerp, 1643. This first volume is dedicated to Pope Urban VIII.

yet, he did not wish to have them published by others. He was affected with a kind of literary egotism that made him consider as his own property the valuable texts discovered by him. He went so far in his jealousy that he concealed even from the Bollandists the Greek codices, which contained the full lives of the Saints, and by pretending that he was following the injunctions of the Pope, prevented them from examining precious manuscripts.

The letters of Henschenius allude frequently to the painful obstacles created for them by the learned librarian of the Vatican. They render due homage to his wonderful erudition, but they complain of his bad temper. "We are compelled to swallow numberless annoyances: worst of all, we have to keep silent to avoid new vexations. . . ." In a letter written to Father Bollandus in August, 1662, Henschenius humorously says: "An extraordinary grace is needed in order that we may enjoy patience to work the conversion of Allatius."

In spite of all these crosses, the two Jesuits gathered a rich harvest in the libraries of Rome. The Filippini, as they are called in Italy, the sons of St. Philip Neri, left at their disposal the invaluable hagiographic documents collected by Cardinal Baronius. The same kind attentions they met in the Greek abbey of Grottaferrata, where the Basilian monks, from the foundation of their library at the end of the 10th century, had endeavored to enrich it with precious Greek codices. After a short visit to Monte Cassino, they went to Florence, where the most erudite librarian of Italy, Maghiabecchi, freely opened to them the treasures of the Laurentiana. No less cordial was their welcome in France. They sojourned three months in Paris, and became acquainted with the giants of sacred learning, Philippe Labbé, the editor of the *Acts of the Councils*, and Francis Combefis, Dominican, one of the best students of patristic literature. They visited other famous libraries, particularly that of the old monastery of Citeaux, a hive of pious and erudite monks in medieval France, and on December 21, 1662, they were allowed, to use their expression, to be rewarded by the embrace of the beloved and cherished Bollandus. The travels of the two Jesuits laid the foundation of the precious library collections of hagiographica, which has escaped the fate of Louvain. Henschenius and Papebrock were

not only copyists, they were gatherers of books. In spite of their limited resources they bought all the books they could find about Christian hagiography. They were, in their own way, commercial travelers. Among their best acquisitions they brought back from the lands they visited letters of introduction from the generals of the various religious orders, and new subscriptions to the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁶

In the month of March, 1668, the same disciples of Bollandus undertook a second journey. They halted at Luxembourg where Henschenius became grievously ill. The task of carrying on the scientific labor of preparing the material for the *Acta* fell upon Daniel Papebrock.⁷

He was born in Antwerp in 1628. His parents had chosen Father Bollandus as their spiritual director. Thanks to him, young Daniel devoted himself to the study of languages, entered into the Society of Jesus, and in 1659 joined the Bollandists. "The old master," writes Father Delehaye, "was not deceived in his expectations. Papebrock is the embodiment of the perfect Bollandist. From the day he entered the lists, he gave himself, soul and body, to scientific research for the glory of God and his saints. He was fully convinced that his task was so important as to prevent him from the possibility of using his talents and activity in another branch of learning. He was not long to stand out in bold relief among his confreres. He became an example to them for his assiduity in work, his spirit of initiative, his vigor of judgment, the keenness of his criticism and the ease of his style. The older ones felt immediately that the youngest of their association had identified himself with their work in such manner as to guarantee its future."

Bollandus died September 12, 1665, after a long and painful

⁶ *Iter Romanum patris Godefridi Henschenii et Danielis Papebrockii anno 1660 a die 22 julii usque ad 23 Decembris*, inedit (Bibliothèque nationale de Bruxelles); *Voyage littéraire des pères Godefridi Henschenius et Daniel Papebrockius en l'année 1688. Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, t. IV. 1867, p. 337-348.

⁷ See *Historia de vita, gestis, operibus, ac virtutibus R. P. Danielis Papebrockii hagiographi S. J.*, auctore Ioanne Pienio, *Acta Sanctorum*, t. VI jun., p. 3-21; M. F. V. Goethals, *op. cit.*, Brussels, 1838, t. III, p. 186-211.

In obitu R. P. Danielis Papebrockii ad Superiores Societatis Jesu per provinciam Flandro-Belgicam Epistola Conradi Janningi, *Acta Eruditorium*, Leipzig, 1715, p. 180-184.

illness. His patience was admirable and his death that of a saint. His last moments were consoled by the vision of the permanence of his undertaking. In fact, Papebrock and Henschenius were able not only to continue it, but to develop and perfect the plans of their master. With good reason they are looked upon as co-founders with Father Bollandus of the *Acta Sanctorum*. To Papebrock, we owe the best material which is contained in the eighteen volumes of March, April, May, and June, the product of his labors.

In 1679 Father Conrad Ianninck, born at Groningen in 1650, was called to take the place of Father Bollandus. Under the guidance of Henschenius and Papebrock, he plunged into all the secrets of hagiographic criticism. His erudition was coupled with a rare business talent and administrative capacity. He explored the libraries to help his confrères; he provided the resources for the publication of the *Acta*; and, at the most trying time when the orthodoxy of Papebrock became suspected, and jealousy assumed the mask of zeal to stop his literary activity, he was chosen as his defender before the Roman congregations.⁸

In 1681 Henschenius died. For twenty years Papebrock steered the work. In 1701 he was affected with blindness. During that lapse of time, a few workers had tried to take up the Bollandist work. Their efforts, however, were not always successful. In 1702, Father Du Sollier (I. B. Sollerius) went to reinforce the little phalanx. He enriched the *Acta Sanctorum* with a critical edition of the Martyrologium of Usuard, and achieved the edition of the *Essay of Papebrock* on the Patriarchs of Alexandria. In 1713 Father Pinius (Pien), a native of Ghent, inserted in the last volume of July an admirable commentary on the life of Saint Ignatius, and his research on the ancient liturgies of Spain. Father Cuperus (Cuypers) born in Antwerp, published in the first volume of August his commentary on the Patriarchs of Constantinople. In 1736, Father J. Stilting filled the gap left by the death of Father Bosschius (Van den Bossche) whom a premature death had prevented from producing the fruits of his scientific preparation. Father Stilting, born at

⁸ P. BOSCHIUS, *Elogium R. P. Conradi Janningi hagiographi S. J. τοῦ μαχαρίτου Acta Sanctorum*, t. III, Iul., p. 1-14

Wijck, for thirty years labored on the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*, especially the volumes of August, September and October. Here he inserted 250 commentaries on the most varied subjects. Father Stilting died on the 28th of February, 1762. After his death, several Jesuits, almost all Belgians, continued the collection. The 3rd volume of October, the fiftieth of the series, is dated Antwerp, 1770, and signed by Constantine Suyskens, Corneille De Bie, Jacques De Bie, and Joseph Ghesquière. The fourth of that month appeared at Brussels in 1780. It was signed by the same Jesuits and a new worker, Father Ignatius Hubens.

The turmoil of the revolution that was spreading everywhere through the teaching of the French Encyclopedists struck first of all the Jesuits. The brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* issued by Clement XIV in 1773 dissolved the Society of Jesus, and the Bollandists could not help feeling the consequences of a measure by which the Pope believed he was averting great evils from the Church.⁹

The suppression of the Jesuits closes the first period of the collection of the *Acta Sanctorum*. For two centuries and more, the élite of the Dutch and Belgian Jesuits had worked to erect a magnificent building to the heroes of the Catholic Church. As it happens with an edifice, whose lines are traced out and re-handled by different architects, the lines of the literary monument built up by the Bollandists are not all similar, they bear the traces of the individuals that conceived them, and of the ages where they were worked out. The same spirit has inspired the whole collection; the value, however, of the several volumes, and the details of the method followed by their authors are not the same. According to Father Delehay, we can distinguish four periods in the rise of *Acta Sanctorum*. As it is the case with all the literary undertakings, the earliest fruits are the best. The volumes issued by the triad of founders, Bollandus, Henschenius, and Papebrock bear away the palm from the others. They show

⁹ M. GACHARD, *Mémoire historique sur les Bollandistes et leurs travaux, spécialement depuis la suppression de l'ordre des Jésuites, en 1773*, in *Messager des arts et des sciences de la Belgique*, Gand, 1835, t. III, p. 200-209. CARDINAL J. PITRA, *Etudes sur la collection des actes des Saints, par les R. R. P. P. Jésuites Bollandistes, précédées d'une dissertation sur les anciennes collections hagiographiques*. Paris, 1850.

in every page the learning, the enthusiasm, the genius of their authors. These were the masters, who formed a brilliant host of disciples without losing their literary supremacy.

A second period starts with Father Du Sollier. Now erudition claims a larger part. The Bollandists of this period aim to exhaust their subjects. They dislike to reproduce the texts, and prefer to have them analyzed and carefully annotated. The third period is inaugurated by Father Stilting. It is, so to speak, the period of learned controversy. Instead of editing the texts and commenting them, the Bollandists linger on polemical discussions. They act like the theologians of the period of decay of Scholastic philosophy. They refute the objections of the contradictors to their opinions. The volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* grow thicker; the hagiographic texts are submerged by a flood of unnecessary critical remarks. The last period closes with the writings of Father De Bie. There is an improvement in the method of narrating and illustrating the lives of the Saints without encumbering them with polemics. We are far, however, from the conciseness of the earliest volumes of the collection.

To understand better the magnitude of the task of the Bollandists, it ought to be remembered that Bollandus traced out an extremely broad plan. He did not limit his work to a choice of saints. The realization of the latter plan had been done successfully before him. His outline comprised all the saints who are venerated throughout the whole world. He proposed to write the world history of Christian sanctity. Under his pen, the saints, even the unknown, had to arise from their tombs, and speak of themselves. It was not enough to travel from diocese to diocese, and to gather there the documents that throw light on local saints. The Catholic Church is universal, and the saints, who are the finest flowers of her educational power, share in her universality. By their apostolic labors, pilgrimages, culture, miracles, churches, writings, moral influence, they very often overstep the boundaries of their native towns, or dioceses, or nations. They are the citizens of the Christian world: their lives are written in many tongues; the documents narrating their deeds are scattered in all libraries.

The biographies show the influence of earlier hagiographic monuments, for the compilers occasionally were accustomed to

embroider them with odds and ends of their own fancy, and at times, ignorant hagiographers have interwoven them with false or ridiculous episodes. It is, therefore, the entire past history, and all present circumstances of all peoples that demand the attention of a student of Christian hagiography.

The Bollandists were not afraid to explore this boundless field. They first devoted their energies to the tasks nearest to hand. They systematized their study of Latin and Greek hagiography. Even in this field the harvest is extremely abundant. The extant lives of the saints written in Latin number more than nine thousand; and there are about two thousand well-known documents of Greek hagiography. The lives of the saints of Eastern countries did not absorb much of the activity of the Bollandists. The oriental languages were not studied as in our day. Oriental texts were seldom published. The hagiographic documents written in Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Georgian, were therefore neglected. The gaps of the first collection are being filled by the new school of Bollandists. Exceedingly interesting treasures of Christian hagiography lie amassed in the ancient monasteries of Georgia and Transcaucasia, as well as in many Russian monasteries. In my own research in Georgian literature, I have frequently emphasized the importance of Georgian hagiography. The discoveries of Nicholas Marr in the libraries of various Georgian monasteries, Mount Athos, the monastery of Sinai, and the Cross Monastery in Jerusalem, have thrown much light on obscure pages of ancient and medieval sacred biography of the East.¹⁰ The Bollandists of the former period had no knowledge of the Slavic and Georgian hagiographic treasures. It is, therefore, to be hoped that as soon as the Bollandists will be able to repair the economic ruin of their institution due to war's havoc, they will be in a position to devote a special volume to the printing of the Georgian text of the *Khartlis Tzkhvareba* (The Paradise of Georgia), and of the Slavic *menologia* of Metropolitan Macarii of Moscow, or S. Dmitri of Rostov.

The imperfections and omissions of the first series of the *Acta Sanctorum* may thus be estimated; and they are due, not to

¹⁰ A. PALMIERI, *Le scoperte del prof. Marr nei monasteri del Sinai e della Palestina*. Rome, 1904, series II, vol. 6, p. 195-197; 282-285; vol. 7, p. 69-72.

the Bollandists, but to the situation of the literary world when they carried on their task. Historical criticism needs historical sources, and historical sources were often not at the hagiographers hands. In spite, however, of all unfavorable circumstances, the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* are one of the greatest monuments of sound erudition, of patient research, and of critical taste, that science knows.

The distribution of the saints in the enormous folio volumes is so well conceived that after three centuries and more it needs no adjustment. The whole cycle of Christian hagiography is directed into the 365 days of the year. Each day forms a separate unit. All the saints commemorated on that day are mentioned in two lists. One of those duly and universally recognized as entitled to Christian veneration, the other, those as to whose standing there may be some technical question. Documents as to the lives of those in the first group are numerous and authentic, and are inserted in the *Acta*.

The second list contains those Saints who are omitted or transferred to another day (*praetermissi aut in alios dies relati*), as well as those who unwarrantably have crept into hagiographic catalogues, or finally those who are subjects of special veneration. In fact, the ancient hagiographic documents at times have been filled with names of intruders, even with the names of pagan consuls, as in the case of some "Acts of Martyrs." At times also, the hagiographers under the influence of an exaggerated love of their own native towns, or to add a title of glory to an illustrious family, or because of affection for the monastery or the religious order to which they respectively belonged, have crowned with the halo of sanctity those who were not entitled to it. To complete the latter list a tremendous amount of preliminary work was necessary. Martyrologies, calendars, chronicles, menologia either general or particular annals of the religious orders, in short, all sorts of documents had to be compared, analyzed and discussed. A single sentence as to a saint in the list of the *praetermissi* is the result of months of fruitless research. The same is to be said as to the saints who are transferred to another day. The Bollandists could not find any documents throwing light upon their lives. On the other hand, no documents were available to show that they ought to be expunged from the hagiographic lists.

Doubt beclouded their right to the veneration of the faithful, the Bollandists, therefore, acted prudently, and with due reserve. Some day the darkness surrounding such individuals might be dissipated, and they would find their place in a supplementary volume.

With regard to the saints whose deeds have been immortalized by the hagiographers, the Bollandists faced a series of problems demanding solution. When it was a question of a single hagiographic text, they published it with prefatory dissertations and historiographical notes. The problem of publishing the texts of different hands and dates concerning the same saint was full of difficulties. At times, it happens that the numerous lives of a given saint are rivulets springing from the same source; at times, they include material drawn from different sources; at times, they represent the working over of material going back to a still more ancient period than that of the life of the hagiographer. A choice among these texts was necessary to avoid the accumulation of identical documents. Wisely, however, the Bollandists decided upon editing the different sources of the lives of the same saints. The scope of *Acta Sanctorum* was to furnish the best material for the students of Christian hagiography, and to accomplish that purpose, the collation of the different sources published *in extenso* is helpful.

The importance of giving the full texts of hagiographic documents was so keenly felt by the pioneers of the *Acta* that they did not hesitate to include apocryphal acts or passions of Martyrs. They were aware that their decision was going to shock the naive piety of some, and alarm the zeal of others. Cardinal Bellarmine was numbered among their opponents. Absurd and even obscene tales had to be given a place beside the touching narratives of the sufferings of the Martyrs, and the heroism of the genuine saints. The objections of Bellarmine furnished to Allatius a plausible pretence to refuse to Henschenius and Papebrock the free access to the hagiographic treasures of the Vatican. He would say to Pope Alexander VII: "They are not acquainted with the short-comings of Greek hagiography. They will publish as authentic pieces absurd fables, and make ridiculous any reverence for the Saints."

It may be that from the mere point of view of Christian piety

those objections were partly well-grounded. But the Bollandists task was a scientific one. The texts, even if they contain the fancies of a misled mysticism, or were forgeries, afford sometimes a few elements of truth or reality of use to the historian of Christian hagiography. They are not to be circulated among the common people who by reading the lives of the saints look only at the edification of their souls. Apocryphal documents try the skill and the patience of the professional scholar. According to this view, Papebrock, who had copied at Florence the Acts of Saint Meletius and his companion martyrs, although they were not inserted with the other saints of the 24th of May, added them to the Appendice of the same volume. These Acts, "the bane of hagiography," to quote an expression of Father Delehaye, are the only extant records justifying the reverence shown to these martyrs of Tavium in Galatia. It is to be hoped that this rule will be followed in the future volumes of the new collection. Another "bane" of hagiography is, for instance, the text known as the "Miracles of Saint Anthemius," published by Alexander Papadonoplo—Kerameus." Yet there is there precious historic material for the history of Byzantium in the seventh century. Later on, the broadness of mind of Papebrock was not always followed. Some important texts were excluded from the *Acta Sanctorum*. The editors feared that their publication would give scandal. Happily this fear does not animate the new school of Bollandists. Even forged and apocryphal texts will be included within the *Acta*, while learned introductions will explain the reasons of their publication, and the useful factors they introduce in the interpretation of Christian hagiography.

Often, the writing of the commentaries on the texts and their annotations cost to the Bollandists more efforts and literary skill than the publication of the texts themselves. The critical collation of manuscripts at the time of the first collection of the acts was still in a state of infancy. Catalogues of codices did not exist. Even the librarians of the richest libraries did not know the treasures they possessed. Communication was not easy.

"*Sbornik grecheskikh bogoslovskikh textov IV—XV vekov*, (Collection of unpublished Greek texts of the Fourth to the Fifteenth centuries). Petrograd, 1910. See A. Palmieri, *Testiteologici greci inediti dei secoli IV—XV*, *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche*. Rome 1910, vol. VI p. 201-216.

The Bollandists limited their task to the choice of the best copy of a given text, publishing it with a few variants. They gave more special attention to the historical notes. In their commentaries they treated at length the origin, author, date, and traditions of the texts and of their peculiarities. It was, so to speak, a kind of literary dissection that they performed on the texts. As they had no predecessors in this field, at times they yielded to the natural passion of the learned for discoveries, and dwelt longer than was necessary upon the clearing up of the difficulties to be found in erroneous documents. In a brilliant page, Papebrock expounds the rules they followed in drawing up the scientific apparatus of their commentaries:

Bollandus and his successors regarded as a law that they ought not adduce any witness of whose veracity they were not convinced, and whose testimony they had not previously examined. They feel it a duty to set forth the date, the degree of credibility and of caution of the witnesses upon whose deposition they rest their judgment. They wish to discuss all the details that may throw light upon the life of a given saint. They believe that no town or village is obscure, no people is to be despised, no country is too remote when there is a question of following the stages of the devotion shown to the memory of a saint. As far as it is allowed to human skill, they propose to explain all the barbarisms of the texts, by reading over books and manuscripts, by corresponding with scholars, by appealing to friends who everywhere are ready to help them. Theirs was not the intention to write the general history of the Church or of great nations, much as remained to be explored in this vast domain; their work aims particularly to elucidate the origin and development of the episcopal sees and towns, monasteries, religious orders. It is not to be thought that the publication of original texts make their labor easier. It adds new toil, and demands further research. They are compelled to compare minutely several manuscripts, and often, in order to clear a difficult passage, to write many letters. Besides, by following this method, they are cautioned against the clever reticences or negligences in which a writer is tempted to indulge, when he is not obliged to quote the precise words of a text, but only the assertions of a third person. In this case a certain freedom is al-

lowed. The texts published in the acts are only a small part of the collection. Without the commentaries, the annotations, the notices on the saints whose lives were lost, or were never written, and the fragmentary data in assembled from chance references in different authors, the texts alone could scarcely have filled one volume.

Father Papebrock did not praise himself or his collaborators in thus indicating the formidable aspect of their undertaking. He spoke the plain truth. It was the firm conviction that they were working for the greater glory of the Church of Christ that enabled them to overcome all the difficulties of their task. When they were expelled from their college of Antwerp where they had lived two centuries and pursued with admirable constancy their gigantic work, a man unfriendly to them, the counselor of State, Kulberg, wrote of them (1778) :

In the domain of criticism of hagiographic texts, the Bollandists hold the sceptre. Justice has been rendered to them by the most famous writers, even by those who cannot be suspected of partiality towards them. Under their pens, the life of each saint is brought back within the frame-work of truth. Its data are verified through a searching discussion and sound and solid criticism. All the appearances of lightness, of groundlessness, of superstition, of fanaticism, of bias, are banished from their volumes.¹²

Strange to say, these qualities, that are to be looked upon as the purest titles of the glory of the Bollandists, stirred up against them a storm of invective, of calumny, and even precipitated the danger of compromising their work. They were reproached with reviling the saints to whom they were erecting a splendid monument; of spoiling the faith for which they were spending all their spiritual energies. With that severe struggle, which might well be called the "Trial of God" in the literary history of the Bollandists, we shall deal in a later paper.

The writer ventures to express his thankfulness to Father

¹² Upon glancing over the first volumes of the Bollandists, Alexander VII said: "No one as yet has undertaken a work more useful and glorious for the Church of Jesus Christ."—*Biographie nationale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1868, t. II, col. 636.

Hippolyte Delehaye, the rector of the house of the Bollandists in Brussels, for having furnished the material for this paper. Father Delehaye is one of the most illustrious victims of militarism. He was condemned to ten years of hard labor. He languished two years in German prisons whence he came at the end of the war shattered in health. The Bollandists' work was reduced by the Germans to the most distressing situation, and it is to be hoped that the generosity of broad-minded Catholics, and of all the lovers of knowledge will help them make good their severe set-back in material means, returning soon, with redoubled energy, to the pursuit of their high-minded and scientific program.

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ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE, OLD HALL¹

A year ago it was my privilege to read a paper before this Society which dealt with the foundations of English Seminaries and Colleges on the Continent during the penal times when their existence was impossible in this country. On that occasion I was asked to contribute a further paper giving some account of what happened when the great College of Douay came to an end during the French Revolution. This evening I redeem my promise, but as the subject would be too large for our limited time I must confine myself to that part of the story which relates to London and the South of England. This is most conveniently done by a brief account of the foundation and fortunes of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall.

By the fall of Douay and the suppression of the Venerable English College in Rome a most serious crisis was created for the Catholics of this land. The only Colleges which remained in existence were those of Valladolid and Lisbon. They continued their good work in training priests, but their resources were quite insufficient to enable them to do this service on a scale sufficiently ample to provide all the priests that were necessary. Accordingly the Bishops were confronted with a very anxious problem. At that time there were four Bishops in England, who under the title of Vicars-Apostolic governed the four districts, London, Northern, Midland and Western, into which the country had for more than a century been divided.

The Vicar-Apostolic of the London district was Dr. John Douglass who after a long career as an earnest hard-working missionary priest in the city of York, was consecrated Bishop in 1790. His jurisdiction extended over all the South-West of England and the Channel Islands, embracing all now included in the dioceses of Westminster, Southwark, Portsmouth, Brentford, and part of Northampton. It covered ten counties, with a sea-line from the Northern Essex coast round beyond Southampton.

¹ Paper read before St. Thomas's Historical Society, London, May 28, 1923.

He was immediately responsible for securing the future adequate supply of clergy for this large part of the country. But it would not have occurred to him that his responsibility was limited to his own district. It was a problem common to him and the three other Vicars-Apostolic. The suppressed Colleges at Douay and Rome had been Pontifical Colleges and as such were under the immediate control of the Holy See. The Vicars-Apostolic had little concern with their government and administration. They sent their ecclesiastical students to one or other of these Colleges there to be trained and ordained. No one had yet contemplated a College for a single district.

There the problem first presented itself to them as a national one. How could they best found a new College to provide the future clergy of the whole country? One very important factor to be taken into account was that in 1791 the second Catholic Relief Act had once more made it legal to open Catholic Schools in this country. Therefore it was now possible for the first time for nearly 250 years to establish a Seminary in England. We may well see the hand of God in the providential passing of this statute just before the ruin of our Colleges abroad.

The Bishops, then, approached the difficulty with the idea of founding one College, and discussions as to ways and means promptly ensued. From the first it became a question of North versus South, with the final result that neither would give way and within a year or so two Colleges were founded, one at Crook Hall in the North, today represented by Ushaw; the other at Old Hall in the South, which is St. Edmund's. The history of these discussions and the way in which the solution was arrived at, will be found described in detail by Bishop Ward both in his work *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England* and in his *History of St. Edmund's College*. We have not time to dwell on it now and must pass to the beginnings of the Southern College with which we are concerned.

Collegiate life at Douay came to an abrupt end in October 1793 owing to the French Revolution. Many of the priests and students escaped and made their way back to England. The President and those who did not escape were confined as prisoners in the citadel of Doullens where they spent many months in constant danger of the guillotine.

In London Bishop Douglass, living in Castle Street, now Furnival Street, Holborn, found his students returning in twos and threes and it was necessary to make provision for them pending the foundation of a new College. The obvious plan was to send them down to the small Catholic school in Hertfordshire where about thirty boys of the best and oldest Catholic families were educated under the charge of two priests. This school had been founded more than forty years previously, in the time of Bishop Challoner, who felt the need of a school for boys to replace that formerly at Twyford near Winchester, which had been closed at the time of the Rebellion of 1745. It was established in Hertfordshire through the instrumentality of the Rev. Richard Kendall, chaplain to Lord Shrewsbury at Isleworth. One of the ladies of the family at Isleworth had married Lord Aston who owned the Hertfordshire estate of Stanton Lordship. When Lord Aston died, leaving two infant daughters as co-heiresses, the large house at Stanton Lordship, in a suitably remote and safe country district, stood empty. Mr. Kendall secured the tenancy of it for the purposes of a school and in 1749 it was opened, and continued to flourish there for nearly twenty years, by which time the young heiresses had come of age and the property had to be sold. It was necessary to remove the school, and for two years it was carried on at Hare Street, probably in the house afterwards bought by Msgr. Robert Hugh Benson and now occupied by His Eminence Cardinal Bourne. But it was too small for a school and in 1769 some property was acquired by Bishop Challoner's coadjutor, the Hon. James Talbot, Bishop of Birta. This property was situated at Old Hall, in the parish of Stanton and was the nucleus of the estates on which St. Edmund's College stands today. The school was carried on in the old manor house built about the time of Charles I, and still standing. It was enlarged by the addition of two wings, and as soon as the Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1791 a small unpretentious chapel was added at the back.

To this modest educational establishment Bishop Douglass sent the first arrivals from Douay. As there was no room for them in the Old Hall they were accommodated in other buildings on the estate, notably in a barn-like structure which they christened the "Ship", on account of the memories of their

voyage which its timbered sides evoked. A part of the "Ship" still stands in the College grounds.

Bishop Douglass was a man of sturdy faith, and though the question of having a general College for all England was still under discussion he determined to make a start. He had no means at his disposal to erect a College with its necessary Chapel, Refectory, Library, Lecture-halls and students quarters. He had not the equipment. Church-plate, vestments, library of books...all had been lost at Douay. He had not the men. The President and some of the priests from the old College were captives at Doullens, and others were scattered.

Having no resources whatever he might have thought it prudent to wait a while. But with intrepid faith and courage he decided to begin a new College with the scanty material to his hand. If he could not build, equip and man a College on the great scale of Douay, he would put the soul of a College into the insignificant body of Old Hall Academy, and leave the issue to God. It really was a heroic venture of faith.

In his diary we read his own account of his act:...."1793. On the 12th of November I took Messrs. William Beauchamp and John Law to Old Hall, and on the 16th, the Feast of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, we commenced studies or established the new College there, a substitute for Douay. Mr. Thomas Cook who had been at Old Hall Green half a year, employed in teaching the children, and Mr. John Devereux joined the other two. These four communicated at my hands. I said Mass and after Mass exposed the Blessed Sacrament; and these four with Mr. Potier sang the "*O Salutaris*," "*Pange Lingua*," "*Deus misereatur nostri*," and "*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*" ad finem.

"Thus was the new College instituted under the patronage of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, the aforementioned students recommencing their studies in divinity. *Felix faustumque sit.*"

The Bishop's choice of a new patron was significant, fitting and providential. The patron of Douay, mother of many martyrs, had been the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury St. Thomas. But in this new house which was to be the mother of priests working in safer days, the patron was to be another

Archbishop of Canterbury, not martyr but confessor, and lovable as student, teacher of theology, and gentle pastor of souls. And I would here observe that a distinguishing mark of the College is the intensely vivid, strong devotion to St. Edmund which has always existed there. He is far from being just a name Saint. He is a living influence in the house which he not only protects by his patronage but which he has honoured by miraculous answers to our prayers.

It was eighteen months before Bishop Douglass could organize this touchingly simple beginning; but he persevered and on the Feast of the Assumption 1795 he installed Dr. Gregory Stapleton as first President, with Dr. William Poynter as Prefect of studies, and competent professors of theology and philosophy to lecture to the body of students he assembled. The work of the school for church boys and lay-boys continued as before.

The accommodation was hopelessly inadequate. When the Bishop visited Old Hall in those first years he had to share the President's bedroom. All were huddled together in chapel, refectory and study-place. Then again Divine Providence intervened. An unexpected legacy of £10,000 from Mr. John Sone a Catholic miller of Bedhampton, enabled the Bishop to begin the building of a large and spacious College. In those leisurely days it took six years to build, but the work was done solidly, plainly and well, and Dr. Douglass's College forms today the central block of the immense collection of buildings which has grown up round it during the past hundred and twenty years. It is now very suitably known as Douglass House and it houses those boys in the school who aspire to the priesthood.

This building was erected at the back of the Old Hall on ground forming part of what was known as the "Hermitage Estate." On this still stands an old cottage always known as the Hermitage though no one knew why until some twenty years ago when it was discovered that in Catholic times there actually was on this site a Hermitage founded by Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, in the early part of the 13th century, and dedicated to St. Michael and All Saints. So that for four hundred years before the Reformation the holy sacrifice of the Mass had been offered on this land, destined long after to be restored to

God's service. And then we recall that by one of those happenings, in which we may see more than coincidence the new College of Bishop Douglass was blessed and opened on the Feast of St. Michael in the year 1800.

The new College met with considerable support and success, so that only five years later it was found necessary to build a new chapel at one end and a new refectory at the other. This chapel served its purpose from 1805 till 1853 when Pugin's beautiful and stately Collegiate chapel was opened. The old chapel is now used as a study-place, but its original purpose has never been forgotten and it is always remembered that seven Bishops were consecrated within its walls in addition to the first two Presidents of the College, Dr. Stapleton and Dr. Poynter, who received episcopal consecration in the previous chapel on the President's gallery, now used as a Museum in which are preserved many precious relics of the penal days.

The course of studies during the first few years would seem from the records still existing to have been very thorough and efficient, notably in theology and philosophy. The first professors were old Douay men who had been in touch with the University life there. But when they passed away their places had to be filled by young priests who had been trained by them in the College, and who had known no other life than that of St. Edmund's. Such men necessarily had a narrower experience and more limited outlook. The effect of this seems to have shown itself in a gradual deterioration, for the work, though solid and conscientious, got into a groove of traditional usage and custom which lasted till the forties when the College was affiliated to London University and like a breath of fresh air some sense of contact with a larger world resulted.

As long as Dr. Poynter with his memories of Douay remained President things went reasonably well, though after he was made bishop-coadjutor his episcopal duties caused him frequently to be away, and during his absence difficulties, such as the disturbance known as the Great Rebellion in 1809, were apt to occur. But when he succeeded as Vicar-Apostolic on the death of Dr. Douglass in 1812 he gave up the presidency and a very unfortunate period began. In the years which immediately followed, the recurring fears of a Napolenic invasion

and the difficult economic state of the country at large, coupled with the comparative inexperience of the new superiors brought the fortunes of the College to a very low ebb.

The situation was saved in 1818 by the bold action of Bishop Poynter in appointing as President a young man of twenty-six who had only been ordained priest two years before. Thomas Griffiths, afterwards to become Vicar Apostolic of the London District, entered the College as a boy of 13 in 1805, and thirteen years later was President.

In him a gentle and lovable disposition was united with a steady and determined character. In a very quiet way he carried out what he thought was right. His deep and practical spirituality worked out a high degree of self-abnegation, and he set about his duty regardless of what others said or thought of him. His influence on others was marked and he was very greatly loved. For the next thirty years he was the unobtrusive guiding spirit of the College, for though he ceased to be President when he was consecrated bishop in 1834, his immediate successors worked under him and continued his policy.

During this period steady and solid work was done at St. Edmund's and the ecclesiastical character of the College predominated. He sent away the lay-boys in an abortive effort to make the College exclusively a Seminary for the priesthood. This proved an unfortunate failure, for ultimately lay-boys had to be readmitted when it was too late to regain the old connection. We no longer find in the College lists the names of the old Catholic nobility and not many representative of the old Catholic county families.

In other respects Dr. Griffiths during his long presidency maintained the College in a condition of sober well-being. Year by year it sent out a stream of priests who did able pioneer work throughout all the South of England, during the time of expansion which marked the first half of the nineteenth century. Throughout the wide extent of the London District these men were at work founding missions, building churches, establishing schools. Their laborious work has not hitherto found an historian but when the history of this expansion of the Church is written, it will be found how much these first generations of Edmundian priests did throughout all the Southern

counties for the propagation of the faith, laying solid foundations for much later achievement. Sound common sense, sturdy self-reliance and unpretentious devotion to their duty were the characteristics of them as a body. They included some scholars, and a few preachers of note; but the predominant type was that of the hard-working missionary priest, something downright and blunt in manner, devout and mortified though suspicious of ostentation or parade of piety, entirely devoted to their flocks, fit instruments for the work that lay to their hands. If the College had nothing else to its credit than these sturdy labourers in the vineyard, it would deserve well of the later generations who have profited so greatly by their obscure and well-nigh forgotten lives.

One legacy was left to St. Edmund's by Dr. Griffiths which has made an indelible impression on all who have passed through the College since his time. This was the beautiful chapel with its great East window and stately rood-screen, designed by Augustus Welby Pugin, though not opened till bishop and architect were dead. Throughout his episcopate Dr. Griffiths laboured unceasingly to collect the means necessary for so costly a work. In his last days, when almost blind, he loved to linger about its unfinished precincts, and the first service held within it was his own funeral. He lies in the chantry of St. Thomas on the right of the entrance doors. We may well style him the second founder of St. Edmund's College.

The Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 and the replacing of the last Vicar-Apostolic of the London District by the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster had profound and immediate effects on Catholic life generally. The College, quiet backwater of ecclesiastical life as it had come to be, was to be deeply affected. Hitherto it had been under the single control of the Vicar-Apostolic, but now though the chief power lay with the Archbishop of Westminster the new Bishop of Southwark had an important voice in directing affairs, and for nearly half a century this state of dual interest in the government continued.

Cardinal Wiseman, with his impetuous energy, large views, and wide outlook, was far from satisfied with the condition of St. Edmund's. To a man of his ready open sympathies and

quick enthusiasm the College must have seemed a very self-centered and close corporation which needed shaking up into a more vigorous life. Desiring for Catholics a more demonstrative devotion and expansive self-expression than the older generation thought either prudent or desirable he perhaps found it difficult fully to appreciate the very solid type of piety which regarded self-repression as a sacred duty. And the older men were certainly experts at hiding their light under many a bushel. One of his first acts was to appoint as President Dr. William Weathers, still held in affectionate remembrance as the saintly Bishop of Amycla. But Dr. Weathers, though not of the reforming party in the house, was an old Edmundian imbued with the ancient spirit of the place and walking always in the ancient ways. Trouble began in 1855 with the appointment as Vice-president of Dr. Herbert Vaughan, then a young newly ordained priest, alert, active, enthusiastic, energetic. It was a dynamic influence flung into a place of ancient tradition. The new Vice President was soon surrounded by ardent admirers; he was one of the newly introduced Oblates of St. Charles. and other priests and students in the house joined him in the Congregation, looking upon him as a sort of private superior. But this meant *imperium in imperio*. Misgivings were aroused and a storm broke out when it became known that Cardinal Wiseman had it in mind to entrust the entire government and administration of the College to the Oblates of St. Charles. The troubles which ensued have been described from different points of view in the biographies of Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan. Too big a subject for more than mention, but it is to be desired that a complete account should be written from the historical rather than from the biographical standpoint. It ended in the withdrawal of Dr. Vaughan and the Oblates in 1861, leaving Dr. Weathers in quiet possession. It must be remembered that the traditions of St. Edmund's are much older than St. Edmund's itself, being its inheritance from Douay, and the introduction of a new spirit and fresh ideals, however admirable in themselves, would have effectually cut the thread of the older continuity. For this reason later generations at the College have always felt gratitude to the Chapter of Westminster for making a stand against the proposed innovation.

Within a few years, however, the College was to undergo a fundamental change of a different sort. Archbishop Manning at a very early stage of his pontificate came to the conclusion that the schools of theology would be more suitably placed in London. Among other reasons he explained that the students would be more immediately under his own supervision and that it was more in accordance with ecclesiastical discipline that the Seminary should be near the diocesan Cathedral and bishop's residence. There was the further practical advantage that the services of the students would be available for functions in the Pro-Cathedral.

The change was made in the Summer of 1869. The Archbishop established St. Thomas's Seminary at Hammersmith, and Dr. Weathers after eighteen years Presidency at St. Edmund's was transferred to Hammersmith as the first, and as it proved the only, Rector.

The Archbishop's wishes were carried out with loyal obedience, though the blow to St. Edmund's was deeply felt and the older St. Edmundian priests never ceased to regret the change. The College could never seem the same to them without the divines in the house, the theological lectures, the annual ordinations, the touching ceremony of the first Mass of the newly ordained priests. Moreover the divines seemed interwoven with the College life, filling as they had done for over seventy years many minor offices. Much of the College routine had to be reformed. Without their aid in choir and on the Sanctuary it seemed impossible to continue the complete observance of the Sacred Liturgy. Fortunately this difficulty was overcome and the liturgical services were continued as before by priests and schoolboys.

After the removal of the divines, St. Edmund's entered upon a new phase of its existence. For with the cessation of theological studies it lost its strictly Collegiate character and was in effect only a school for boys. This state of things lasted for 35 years from 1869 to the return of the divines and the restoration of the College to its original status in 1904.

During the first ten years of this period Msgr. Patterson was President. Himself an Oxford convert, he brought to his task a keen appreciation of the importance of dignified surroundings

and he did a great work in the material improvement of the College buildings and equipment. Till then a rugged and rough simplicity had prevailed. Apart from the Chapel, the College had continued bare of decoration and was most Spartan in its accommodation. Quite reasonable requirements were most inadequately provided for. Msgr. Patterson laid out handsome terraces in front of the main building, added two spacious porches, caused the refectory and ambulatory to be painted and decorated, fitted out a large room as a new and handsome library, and, as was then said, generally "civilized" the house. His attempted improvements in the Chapel were less fortunate and have practically all disappeared. It is not possible effectively to Romanize a Gothic church; and his wholesale cutting down of Gothic vestments into a mongrel shape that was not really Roman was an instance of a course of action which provoked opposition and reaction and was much resented.

Further improvements were carried out later by Msgr. Fenton who was President from 1882 till 1887. His brilliant Vice-president, the Rev. William Lloyd, brought the studies to a very high standard and the boys were more numerous than they had ever been before. But the financial resources of the College continued quite inadequate, with consequent difficulties; so that when Cardinal Vaughan became Archbishop of Westminster in 1902 he was faced with a position of acute crisis in the ecclesiastical education of the diocese, both at St. Thomas's Seminary and at St. Edmund's College. He dealt with it drastically by closing the Seminary, sending his Divines to Oscott and selling the buildings erected by Cardinal Manning at such great cost twenty years before. For a time it seemed quite possible that St. Edmund's would share a similar fate. But there was on the staff a young priest in whom the Cardinal had confidence. He told him he would give the College one more chance (though his Eminence had so little confidence in the future that he would not appoint him President but only named him as pro-President).

Under such circumstances began the long and successful rule of Msgr. Bernard Ward. That very year chanced to be the centenary of the College and Msgr. Ward was quick to take advantage of the fact. Putting a bold face on the state of affairs, the critical nature of which was not publicly known, he organ-

ized a most impressive celebration which emphasized the ancient and historical interests of the institution and which attracted public attention, with the result that boys began to come in ever increasing numbers. The curriculum of studies was completely revised and brought into line with modern requirements. Every class in the house was presented for a public examination of some kind. New dormitories and classrooms were added and a first class swimming bath was built and fitted up by the President at his own expense. Evidences of his energy appeared in all directions; the Chapel was completed and furnished with many beautiful additions, stained glass windows and rich vestments; libraries, sacristies and class-rooms were refurnished; the playing fields extended and improved. Meanwhile he found time to publish a *History of St. Edmund's College* and other books dealing with the associations of the venerable place. He was able to interest others in the fortunes of the College and nearly all the improvements were due to the generosity of benefactors among whom he himself was the foremost. I can only sum up his work by saying that as Thomas Griffiths saved the College at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bernard Ward saved it at its close and gave it a position such as it had never had before.

The crown was set on his work when on the death of Cardinal Vaughan, Dr. Francis Bourne, Bishop of Southwark, himself an old Edmundian, became the fourth Archbishop of Westminster. One of the first acts of his pontificate was his decision to reopen the schools of theology and philosophy at St. Edmund's and so restore to it that fulness of life which it had enjoyed from 1793 to 1869.

But the divines could no longer be housed in the College as before, owing to the great development of the school and accordingly it was necessary to erect a large new block of buildings with chapel, lecture rooms and refectory complete, in which the divines lead their life and pursue their studies entirely separate from the boys.

One may not conclude this bare outline of Msgr. Ward's activities at Old Hall without referring to one work he initiated, which has proved of the greatest value to the secular clergy of the whole country and to several of our Colleges. This was the

establishment through the generosity of the late Duke of Norfolk and others, of St. Edmund's House, Cambridge. When the Universities were thrown open to Catholics Msgr. Ward realized the great advantage it would be to have a house of studies where students for the priesthood might study for University degrees. In pursuance of this idea St. Edmund's House at Cambridge was opened in 1896 since when many priests, now engaged in teaching in various secular Colleges, have been enabled to take their degrees to their great advantage as teachers.

In arriving at an estimate of all that Msgr. Ward accomplished, it must be remembered that his work was carried on, like that of all his predecessors, under one great disadvantage. This was the inadequacy of the financial resources of the College. Financial difficulties run through its whole history like the under-current of accompaniment to a song. In a sense this fact is a tribute to the enterprise of our forefathers. All the endowments of Douay, never very great, were confiscated during the French Revolution, and when later on France restored the property of British subjects to the English Government, this merely resulted in a second confiscation and one of a final nature. For the Government held that the money was devoted to superstitious uses, and so decided to spend it on the more praiseworthy and less superstitious objects of furnishing Windsor Castle and the Pavilion at Brighton to suit the tastes of His Majesty King George IV.

St. Edmund's thus began life without any endowments. There were in the hands of the Bishop certain funds for providing scholarships or burses for boys who wished to be priests. But these burses have steadily declined in value, partly owing to the alteration in the purchasing power of money and partly due to the more costly standard of living. No student today could stand the Spartan rigour of Douay life to which so many even of that hardy generation fell victims. Thus today it sometimes takes the income from several burses to support one church-student. You will understand this better if I give an example. The Ven. William Lloyd, who died a prisoner under sentence of death for his priesthood in 1679, left a legacy of £8 a year to support a boy at Lisbon, and the yearly interest on £200 to support "several hopeful young men": but you could not

support a single "hopeful young man" on the interest of £200 for many weeks today!

Add to this the natural desire to treat the boys as well as possible....which sometimes led to their being treated better than was prudent, even though less well than they desired. The pension for lay-boys was much lower than that of non-Catholic schools of similar grade, and even such pensions were frequently reduced to help Catholic parents who could not afford the full fees. Bad economics, no doubt; but it was a very kindly Christian charity which led to this imprudence.

Before passing to the last part of my subject....the recent developments and present position of the College....I should like to make brief mention of some of those who, educated within its walls, have afterwards distinguished themselves in labours for Church and State. As St. Edmund's has been pre-eminently a house for the training of the Clergy, her roll of honoured names includes a large proportion of Churchmen. Besides the great army of priests who have gone out from the College in such numbers throughout the nineteenth century and since we find among her sons the names of two Cardinals and twenty-five Bishops. Of those who have served the cause of religion by their written works we may name Canon Tierney the historian; Dr. Rock the archaeologist; Canon Bagshawe, whose manuals of instruction are still in daily use; Dom Edmund Wallace O.S.B., the biographer of St. Edmund; Bishop Bernard Ward; and many others of minor note. On the list of laymen we find Arthur Clifford the founder of *Galignani's Messenger*; Henry Howard, afterwards thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, who as Earl of Surrey was the first Catholic member of the House of Commons after Emancipation; Sir William Shee, a Justice of the Queen's Bench, the first Catholic Judge of the Superior Courts in England since the Revolution of 1688; Everard de Lisle who won the Victoria Cross in the Indian Mutiny; James Molloy the composer; and Wilfrid Ward whose services to Catholic literature and apologetic will be of lasting value. Men such as these, with others one might mention, served the Church of God well during the past century and set an example of loyal service to those who come after them, which the rising generation will find it difficult to surpass.

Yet my own hopes in this new generation run very high, for never in my own memory of the College...extending now through forty years...has it had such opportunities or such equipment in men or material. During the War it went through a time of acute difficulty and hardship. All its students over eighteen went to serve their country in the forces of the Crown; every priest who could be spared from the staff went out as a Chaplain; with depleted numbers and resources the financial difficulties daily increased; the buildings which had served their purpose for over a hundred years stood in growing need of a thorough restoration and repair which could not in that time of distress be carried out. When the War was over and I, wearied and worn out after two years fighting against tremendous odds, resigned the office of President, I knew that things were in a very serious plight; but I also knew that younger and more capable men were ready at hand to undertake the arduous work of reconstruction. I did not know, and I could not dream, that within the short space of four years that work would be carried through with tremendous energy to a successful and triumphant conclusion.

At every crisis in the College history Divine Providence had found the man to save it and to continue its work. Though every possible credit is due to the President and his staff, they themselves would be the first to proclaim that in this case the deliverance was due to His Eminence Francis Cardinal Bourne.

Himself the most distinguished of living Edmundians, knowing the College intimately as few do, knowing it as lay-boy, as church student, as Archbishop, he has boundless faith in the destinies of the College, reverence for its past and confidence in its future. He has borne public testimony to the fact that it was in answer to his prayer at the Shrine of our Lady of Lourdes, at a moment when he had no resources whatever for the immense work to be done, that help came. A large and timely legacy was unexpectedly received and the material renovation of the College buildings was undertaken and has been carried out. Not only were the old buildings of Bishop Douglass, Bishop Griffiths and Msgr. Ward thoroughly put in repair, equipped with modern appliances in lighting, heating and sanitation, but an entirely new block of school buildings was erected

complete with class-rooms, laboratories and a spacious Concert Hall. The Cardinal added as his own gift the very beautiful Galilee annexed to the College Chapel, not encroaching on but enhancing the effect of Pugin's work.

While these material improvements were being carried out plans were carefully made for the reorganization of the College-life as a whole. The farsighted policy of Msgr. Ward in providing, twenty five years before, opportunities for giving University training to the Clergy had borne its fruit. There was in the diocese a body of the younger priests who were graduates of Cambridge, some of whom had recently won conspicuous success there. Many of them had also served with distinction as Chaplains in the War. Here then was the nucleus of an efficient and capable teaching staff.

Further than this, the crown of the Cardinal's policy was the introduction of the House system. His Eminence has put on record his ideas on the subject. It will suffice here to observe that this system as now inaugurated at St. Edmund's will preserve the advantages of daily association between boys aspiring to the priesthood and those destined for a secular career, while enabling each class to live under discipline suitable for its special requirements. At St. Edmund's, as at Douay before it, church-boys and lay-boys have been educated side by side, to their mutual advantage especially in the formation of close and life-long friendships between priest and layman. No Edmundian would willingly sacrifice that. But it remains true, to quote the Cardinal's own words, that "there is an essential difference in discipline, in training, and above all in the more intimate things of the spiritual life, between the preparation of a boy for the service of the Altar and the fitting of him for a career in the world."

This difference of discipline, it is believed, can be secured by means of the House system, under which boys will meet in the class-room and in the playing fields, while living separately in other respects. Each house is self contained with its own refectory, dormitories, library and study-hall. Each will lead its own corporate life, with all which that implies in healthy emulation, and each will meet the other houses on equal terms in studies and in sport.

Last September this system came into being, with results which so far have fully justified all hopes. In naming the houses opportunity was taken of commemorating the honoured names of the past. The divines, engaged in the study of philosophy and theology lead, as before, their life entirely apart in the building erected for them twenty years ago, which in memory of the founder of Douay, is now known as Allen Hall. The church-boys occupy the main building, now called after its founder and builder, Douglass House. There are two houses for lay-boys, one under a lay house-master, the other under a priest. They are called Challoner's and Talbot's, from the respective founders of the Standon Lordship and Old Hall schools. It is not a mere picturesque fancy which thus links up the memories of the past in this naming of the houses. It rather is the natural expression of our trust that the ancient spirit of the College, with its inheritance from the penal days, will continue to flourish in each and all of the new houses. All will be linked up and unified by the corporate collegiate life and especially by devotion to the Patron of all St. Edmund.

This then is where the College stands today. What will be its future? The Cardinal makes no secret of his hopes that in years to come there will be a great expansion, and house upon house will rise. The President and his staff have for their ideal to make St. Edmund's all that a great Catholic public-school should be. As the knowledge of the faith spreads in this land the number of boys yearly entering our secondary schools will be ever greater and greater. We must be ready to supply the need both for public-schools and day-schools. Our great Colleges, Ushaw, Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Downside, the Oratory, Beaumont, Woolhampton, and Old Hall have the advantage of a very ancient and a great tradition. Each on its own lines works out its fortunes and it is well for us that all are very much alive. I have tried to-night to interest you in the past and present and future of one of the oldest of them all. To-day it makes a new and gallant bid for support. Whether this effort will succeed or fail will only be known in the passing of time. But the result depends on the interest of Catholics, and especially of London Catholics to whom, as being the Seminary

and College and property of our diocese of Westminster, it so especially belongs

May I end with the College motto? "Avita pro Fide"!

"For the Faith of our Fathers."

EDWIN H. BURTON, D.D., F.R.Hist.S.

All who know St. Edmund's College will miss in the account given of its history any reference to Canon Burton's own great work for the College. He joined the staff in 1898, became Msgr. Ward's Vice President in 1902, and succeeded him in 1916. More loyal and more self effacing work than that of Dr. Burton as Vice President no man could conceive.

The material benefits conferred by Dr. Burton upon the College would entitle him to a place of honour among its Benefactors. As early as 1893 he gave the stained glass windows of the Lady Chapel, now in the Shrine; in 1900 the Akers Window, and in 1903, in conjunction with Msgr. Ward, the Douay Martyrs' Windows in Monument Lane. He generously contributed to the building of the Shrine, gave the carved statues in the Divines' Ambulacrum, and a hundred and one smaller objects to be found in every part of the House.

But these material benefactions were as nothing to the great constructive work he did in the College, where he was ever a source of stimulus and of light. His reorganization of the Museum in 1899 was pregnant with much future good work. The memory of his dramatic efforts is not likely soon to fade: the successful institution of the Triennial Latin Play, with its cycle of Aulularia, Mostellaria and Sumbolaria set a standard it will not be easy to maintain, while the annual Christmas Plays, with their stores of innocent fun, will be joyous memory for all.

Still more lasting in its effects will be the historical work accomplished during those busy years: work valuable in itself, more valuable still in that it was a living source of stimulus; a school in which many learned critical methods of historical study and formed a sound historical judgment. There stands out, of course, Canon Burton's magnum opus, his *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*; the educative value of the work he

inspired and directed in *Lives of English Martyrs* declared *Venerable* stood out in the success of the volume his pupils wrote.

His labours for the Catholic Record Society will be appreciated by generations of workers still to come. The task of the Catholic historian will be made smoother by his still unpublished lists of Marian Priests. Local history has benefited by his studies on *St. Mary's Church, Standon, Standon Lordship, The foundation of Standon Lordship School, Prior Maurice Chauncey*.

The spirit of the trained lawyer shows itself in the *History of the College Estates*, which ran through some five numbers of the *Edmundian* in 1912-13, and which was based upon a careful examination of ancient deeds, the results of which are now accessible in the manuscript, "Terrier" of St. Edmund's College. The "*Liber Benefactorum*" begun in 1899, the Catalogue of the Archives, the Lists of Old Boys, the labours spent unravelling the secrets of the "Church Books", the compilations of "The President's Book," all witness to ceaseless self-forgetting toil devoted to preserving the records of the past and facilitating the work of those who were to come after him.

This record of benefactions and of work accomplished is very far indeed from being complete, and obvious omissions will at once occur to many; but all that was done in the margin of his life's work as a Priest-Schoolmaster—a work calculated to absorb the normal energies of the average man. It is well for us to remember that there was nothing in his previous career to fit him for so unlikely an occupation.

That he should have entered a Seminary and become a Priest after qualifying as a Solicitor of the High Court was indeed an unlikely development, but that then he should have devoted years to teaching boys the rudiments of Latin was more unlikely still. By nature he was not a Schoolmaster, but all that care and energetic labour could do to fit him for his new task was done with most conspicuous success. He became a father and friend to those boys of the 2nd of Rudiments and remains such even today. When later as Vice President he was called upon to take up higher work in sacred Scripture, in Ecclesiastical History, in Ascetical Theology, the voice of his Superiors

was all that was needed to direct successfully his energies into a new channel.

Only those who have lived with him closely for years can realize the sense of loss that fills the hearts of his friends now that his close connection with the College has come to an end. If I may add a personal note, it would be to record the fact that our long collaboration of some seventeen years has never known a moment of estrangement nor an unkind or angry word.

Quite apart from the results achieved in the material, the historical and educational orders, there stands out a factor of supreme importance, yet one it is impossible adequately to express in words, and that is the charm of the late President's personality. Genial, kind, gentle yet firm when necessary, even fiery when extreme circumstances called for strong action—there always predominated a regard for the feeling of his fellow men, which prevented the willing infliction of pain, a kindliness of speech which made everyone feel that one's character was safe on his lips, a willingness to oblige and to help which provoked admiration even when imitation seemed too hard. The secret of his attractiveness is a complex one, but in a community he exercised a function which every Superior would gladly exercise, though so few can do so successfully—he was emphatically a source of unity.

The long years of preparation as Vice President filled us with hopes of a long and successful Presidency. It has pleased God that it should be otherwise: that physical strength should fail when every other qualification was conspicuously present: and we are left to face the future without him, but the richer and stronger from the inspiration of the example of his self-denying life's work.

EDWARD MYERS, M.A.,
President of St. Edmund's College.

THE KNEEL OF GERMAN PROTESTANTISM

The Protestant Established Churches of Germany (*Landeskirchen*) were, until the great Revolution after the war, State Churches in the strict sense of the word. The Civil rulers not only protected them, gave them aid and stability, but they were also the highest Bishops and named ecclesiastical dignitaries independently of either civil parliament or Ecclesiastical Synod. Every ecclesiastical law was passed subject to their placet.

In Prussia, for instance, ecclesiastical government was so severely dealt with that the State was practically identified with Protestantism. The Ruler had the right to call to the Provincial and General Synods a great number, who enjoyed his confidence and in this wise he influenced the elections; his Minister of Worship, a layman, was in charge of the external management of affairs and particularly controlled church monies. Ecclesiastics were therefore entirely restricted to the exercise of the spiritual functions of parish life, the care of souls, participation in the Synods and the spiritual offices of the "Collegiate Authorities," without, however, enjoying real leadership. The more liberal minded among them were thus crushed under state domination.

To add to their perplexity there was in the churches no dogmatic clearness; among both preachers and people there was no common ground for dogmatic interpretation. University professors, under whom the ministers were trained, were appointed by the civil authorities and since they were thoroughly imbued with the infidel tendencies of so-called Neo-Protestantism, preachers trained under their direction in many places brought into the pulpit, not the teachings of the Gospel, but their own new thought. The State was merely anxious about preventing too daring vagaries and insisted upon only a certain unity in externals. It is clear and more and more recognized of late also by Protestant authors, theologians in the lead, that the inculcation of real piety and Christian living was sadly neglected and that because of its too bureaucratic nature the Church had no influence upon the morality of a people apathetic both towards Religion and its practice.

In spite of State guardianship the trend of ecclesiastical

Liberalism and "Positivism" ate so deeply into the vitals of the Protestant organization, as to threaten destruction. By means of written articles, Synods, and the administration, these two parties continued the strife. Two distinct "Churches" were even spoken of, the "Free Modern" and the "Conservative." Certainly "Tolerance of Opinion" (*Duldung der Richtungen*) was the avowed attitude, but radical differences called for the obliteration of one or other of the contesting parties. Henceforth, we see common insistence upon protection for the Minority in the parishes.

The Catholic Church was not affected noticeably by this law. She has been accustomed to stand alone, according to the plan of her Divine Founder. She awaits with tranquil confidence further developments of the decree in the form of necessary regulations. A desirable basis for her further expansion, which now looks so promising, will be the projected Concordats. Those with Bavaria and Prussia are already in preparation by the Nuncio Parelli. The powerful union of Bishops and keen Catholic spirit of the people, hold forth brightest prospects for the next decades.

Of Protestantism this is not the case. Suddenly bereft of its erstwhile props, an entirely new structure must now be reared. A crisis has ensued the like of which has not taken place since the days of Luther. The wide cleavage among its members increases the threatening danger. Who is to indicate the proper methods of meeting the difficult situation? In the first place there is no ground upon which the tissue of a new fabric may be laid. Christ, the Son of God, has constituted for the Catholic Church in Peter and his successors a visible foundation. Protestantism does not acknowledge this "Rock" upon which the Lord wished to build His Church. Moreover, her theologians cannot even agree as to the nature of the Church. Is she visible or invisible? Is this visibility essential or merely an historic mirage or phase? What are the elements that go to make it up? Widely diverging answers meet all these questions.

The whole uncertainty with regard to the nature of the Church is an inheritance from Luther, who in his attack upon Catholicism at first wanted an invisible Church, without Pope,

without Hierarchy or laws, and then out of dire necessity created a State Church only too obtrusive in its visibleness, too concrete in its culture,—state imposed,—in its rule of faith and persecution of heretics—all stamped with Luther's character.¹ In liberal Protestant circles today, on the other hand, in consequence of broader views of life, the idea is gaining ground that there should be no Church at all, that its founding in the sixteenth century was a mistake, and that preaching of the Gospel is sufficient. Under these circumstances plans for the rehabilitation of Protestantism are random.

The last three or four years have abounded in new projects and quarrels. Mid this the cry for a common German People's Church (*Volkskirche*) has been sounded most insistently. The majority desired some arrangement which, without binding individuals might include all organizations, not bureaucratic, and yet giving new life to those that had gone astray on ecclesiastical and religious practices. Nevertheless under cover of the name "People's Churches" brochures and press articles often carried the most amazing statements. Pursuant to the demands of many the only article of belief was to be: "Christ is the Lord;" a formula that relinquished claims to the Divinity of Christ and the Redemption, or that, at least, left these undecided, the elasticity of which embraced both believer and unbeliever. "Away with Ministerial Churches" was the slogan, and in the place of Ministers, laymen were in future to guide the destinies of the church.

The more positive spirits rallied to the cry of "Creed Church" (*Bekenntnisskirche*) avowing with justice that without a sound belief a Church was impossible. They wished to incorporate not only the Apostle's Creed and that of the ancient Church, but also the Lutheran Catechism and the Confessions of the Reformation. Another Catchword used by this party was "Church of the German Commonwealth" (*Deutsche Reichskirche*).

It was not the intention to resurrect the old State Church

¹ GRISAR, *Luther*, xxxviii.

in a new garb but to create a new one independent in nature, co-extensive with the German boundaries and governed by a National Convocation. This alluring creation should displace some twenty-eight Established Churches of Germany with their various systems of belief and practice. The difficulties of this fantastic project were soon brought home to too many to allow of a wide acceptance. The old ideal had to be preserved. In the first place there was no hope that Established Churches would relinquish their peculiar tenets in the interest of amalgamation with a National Established Church. Traditions are not so easily relinquished in Germany as among the sects of North America. Then also the majority is more powerful in an Established Church in Germany than in North America where individualism and initiative are more at home. Finally we must not forget the proposed organization of Parochial Churches, for this was Luther's original plan. Every parish that believed the Gospel becomes in this way a Religion in itself, and the greatest independence is assured. By election a Synod would be chosen from among them and in this way the "village Church" (*Landkirche*) would become a Synodal-Church. Among the persons advocating this plan democratic thought is rife. America has something akin to them; but in the Church as constituted by Christ or in the ancient Church no trace of such democracy is evident.

Now the question is naturally suggested, what was the actual form assumed by the Churches in Germany during the past years? All the theoretical possibilities as suggested were more or less ignored and the equipment of the old system was taken over. Supreme ecclesiastical authority of the old "princely Sumepiscopate" was vested in an "Ecclesiastical Senate" or "Established Church Council" in utter disregard for the more fundamental issue of whence the authority was derived. Almost the entire machinery of the old organization, "the State Church," was thus transferred and placed under this plural head. Now, however, the difficulty presented itself of making these new Churches seem the natural and legitimate continuation of the old order and that in as united a form as possible. This unity and continuity was also a prime necessity

because the State must recognize these Churches as legal Societies and must transfer to them its ecclesiastical possessions. Did an unorganized disrupted Church present itself, disputes on property titles, money, etc., would be multiplied hopelessly.

In the individual states comprised in the German Republic Ecclesiastical Rehabilitation took various courses. We cannot consider these singly and shall, therefore, only touch on characteristics as found in some, especially in Bavaria and Prussia. The new order was ushered in generally with the creation of the Ecclesiastical constitutive Assembly upon the initiative of the old dignitaries who had formerly ranked next to the Prince of Sovereigns as the so-called "Ecclesiastical Organ" (*Kirchliche Organe*). The Constitutive Assembly was as a rule formed directly of the members of the Parishes, by election. It was a surprise that these elections were more favorable to the "Positive Party" than to the "Liberals." On the "Left" because of a widespread infidelity among the people and possible agitation on the part of the Socialists, it was feared that Liberalism would prove overwhelming. The apathy was so great, however, toward everything Religious and indifference toward ecclesiastical activities so deep-seated that the relative minority of Church-goers were in the ascendancy and the activity of the Ministers of the Positive Party gained the field. The Constitutive Assemblies were constantly receiving many Liberals among their number; certainly the elements that make for discord and open conflict were present in sufficient strength. Majority had to decide. On that account complaint was raised by the defeated minorities over what they called majority compulsion; to obtain such an ascendancy through only chance votes, the Left Party held, was unheard of, particularly in matters of conscience and of worship and that in Protestantism there was no authority that could compel the assent of faith, as Luther clearly taught. They were right. Is it perhaps possible that in the Gospel there is no majority that speaks with decisive authority?

The legislating Synods were in their very appearance strange ecclesiastical gatherings. There were representatives of Labor side by side with Superintendents or members of the High Consistory, Ministers and Preachers, University theolo-

gians, Political agitators, Socialists with dignitaries and many women peculiarly gifted as public speakers, scattered here and there throughout the assemblage.

In Bavaria the majority cry was from the very outset: "We want our Creed-Church at any cost, even if as a result the social 'People's Church' goes to pieces." The great Synod that had convened at Ansbach towards the end of August was presided over by a well known believing Jurist, Director of the Bavarian Commercial Bank, Baron Wilhelm von Bethmann. A National Consistory was formed in which ecclesiastical power is vested. Its President holds office for life. The motion that he be called Bishop was set aside. This National Consistory is made up of a body of laymen and a body of ecclesiastics. Next in rank to them, there is the National Synod with which it must cooperate in certain cases and which represents the discarded democratic element of the now "Evangelical-Lutheran Church" of Bavaria. A "Creed" was incorporated into the Introduction to the actual Constitution as follows: "The Church takes its stand upon the common ground of S. Scripture, in teaching and practice she makes Evangelical-Lutheran profession." Certainly significant was the action of the Synod in immediately guaranteeing former freedom in development of various tendencies in doctrine, and since these tendencies diverge quite noticeably the binding force of the "Profession" is rendered nugatory.

In Baden work of reorganization went along quite speedily. Under its Constitution many liberal elements were included. Especially worthy of attention are Paragraphs 57, 58, 59. These are calculated to shelter minorities in the congregations. If in future a party does not agree with the Preacher's views, either by reason of his Liberalism, positiveness or too strict orthodoxy, on motion of fifty voters another Preacher can be procured for the minority,—to administer sacraments, and in general to exercise their "cura." The High Consistory can under circumstances allow a stranger—not belonging to the National Church—to exercise the ministry together with the pastor. The way is thus open for the removal of pastoral coercion. "These decrees," says the *Protestant Ecclesiastical Yearbook*, (1920), p. 394) "can in troublous times almost destroy the Parish." As a matter of fact they give free play to multiplication of sects.

But they are in reality only a consequence of views held by Luther himself, especially in his earlier days, on the rights of the "Ecclesiastical individual."

Many another chasm yawns in the other decrees. Inconsistencies were employed to circumvent them. Much that was critical was avoided by means of ambiguous legislation. The title "Bishop" was for the nonce done away with in Bavaria, and also in Baden and Wurtemberg. It seemed to have a too Catholic ring. Moreover, it was feared that the office might concentrate too much authority in the hands of one man. Nor was it desirable to follow in the footsteps of the newly founded "High Church Union," founded in Germany, indeed, but disliked by Protestants; their Union demands Episcopacy and like the various ritualists adopts much that is of Catholic origin. These objections were not considered in all the newly created Churches, for in seven States the title is retained, viz: Saxony, Brunswick, Hannover, Schleswig-Holstein, Nassau and both Mecklenburgs.

In Prussia reconstruction met with special opposition, partly because of the formation of the old Prussian Established Church, out of religiously heterogeneous territories, partly also because of the strength of the liberal Neo-Protestant party. Only at the end of September 1922 was the Constitution finally decided upon.

Until the year 1921 we find in Prussia the unusual phenomenon of three State officials vested with ecclesiastical authority, the highest of whom was formerly the reigning Sovereign and all this in spite of the declared Separation of Church and State. This condition was the result of an act of the Prussian Parliament transferring the power to these men much to the chagrin of churchmen who were fond of calling the Triumvirate,—“the most holy three kings.” The State then convoked a General Synod for the purpose of arranging for an Ecclesiastical Constitutive Assembly. The Synod convened in April 1920. It circulated through the state press a very liberal election law for the assembly. This last was to be organized originally by means of a parochial election for the choice of parish representatives, who would then elect the member of the Assembly. At the end of June 1921, after a long religious

wrangle through the press and in gatherings the members of the legislative assembly were chosen. There were one hundred and ninety three of them,—a motley crowd, including Ministers, officials of either Church or State, labor leaders, etc., even women. The "High Consistory," the Universities and other Collegiate bodies were represented. The so-called "Positives" could be satisfied with the prospects in ecclesiastical affairs. The "Right" would be in two-thirds majority when the different groups of the "United Rights" party should convene. But they were not even united on the main issue—their Profession of Faith.

In September 1921 the Convocation met in Berlin for the first time. Two solutions were proposed in the matter of the Constitution,— the one, the High Consistorial,—the other, that of the General Synodal Committee, both agreeing upon a common and elastic Profession of Faith in the "Evangel" according to the "Confessions" of the Reformation. The plans were submitted to the judgment of a committee by the Council which after a very short session broke up. While the committee was in session and taking an enormous amount of time in private preliminary examination, a great fight started throughout the country over the "Creed." For to the "Positives" it was too weak and ambiguous, the "Left" considered it was an unwarrantable law of faith and a restraint upon liberty. At Berlin in the Spring of 1922, the committee decided upon a newer and more strict Profession of Faith, by reason of the support of a great "Positivist" majority. In it the Person of Christ received some consideration and several "Creeds" of the past, including the Apostle's Creed are mentioned explicitly. The expected happened.

A more violent outbreak occurred in Prussia than before and revealed how, under the impulse of modern Zeitgeist, even the remnants of faith in Luther's teaching were thrown to the winds and that, in Prussia, that arch Protestant State, dominant influence in the Reformation, ever the champion of biblical Christianity so decidedly opposed to Catholicism. Protests rained in upon the members of the committee. The "Berliner theologische Universität," and even the High Consistory,

formerly the highest ecclesiastical tribunal under the civil "Summus Episkopus" registered their formal complaint.

Under such omens the Constitutive Synod met towards the end of August, 1922, for its final task. Demanding immediate settlement was the hotly contested "Creed." Secondly, consideration must be given the question of a democratic election of the General Synod, the future supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters, and its continuance under the name of Ecclesiastical Senate. The carefully drawn up paragraphs of the Constitution submitted by the "Committee" were in the main accepted, even though many modifications were made. Their more detailed treatment would lead us too far. They are a thorough body of laws, for the most part borrowed from the earlier Church-organism of the State in which the invisible Church of Luther presents itself in a decidedly visible manner. Many regarded it as a reversal of the Gospel of the Spirit and of Liberty. To these a member of the Synod, Professor of Theology Schaefer called out: "Only remember we live in a visible Church."

Democratic ideals received only partial recognition in the decisions on elections. The General Synod is to be chosen by the Provincial Synod instead of (as the "Liberals" desired) immediately by parochial vote or at least by parish representation. In addition University Professors of Theology, Superintendents and other Church officials are members. Thus the "General Synod" will be a sort of House of Lords, as before, in which the people will be chosen by parish representation, but will receive their quota of officials by involuntary secretion. If there is despite all a democratic strain in this arrangement, the Parish, as backbone of the Church is, at the same time, made the recipient of democratic concessions to insure its stability and development. The conviction clearly exists that cooperation of the masses in the life of the Church should receive greater encouragement. Annually a meeting of all the Parishioners is to be held at which the Pastor will make a report on his activities and receive suggestions. This is certainly a dubious method of promoting parochial life and means discord if certain parties try to gain greater influence than the Pastor in disciplinary or doctrinal matters. The parish is further represented at Pro-

vincial and District Synods by representatives of teachers of Religion, musicians, and the Caritas Societies, etc.

Especial parochial committees are projected for Church endeavor on the part of the women as also organizations for the youth. Formerly there were mere parish helpers with or without Theological training,—a Deacon and Deaconess; there were the Guardians for the boys and girls. Now we see everywhere according to the Constitution: pastoral charges and initiative can be given to persons under ecclesiastical authorization, even though they are not ecclesiastics, though they are to be guided by and answerable to the pastor. A future General Synod will decide in the matter of women preachers.

Thus in general many of the most important decisions have been reserved for lack of time now, to the action of other General Synods. Among these we find the question of "Minorities" in the parishes now being debated by "Liberal" and "Conservative" Parties; the election of Pastors, where such custom prevails, and the explicit acceptance of a "Creed" by ecclesiastics; also other questions of vital consequence to the unity of the Church. The Committee, i. e., the Ecclesiastical Senate,—and its Presiding Officer will not occupy an enviable position.

In the matter of President of the Senate the question remains open as to whether or not his tenure of office shall be for life and whether or not this position might be filled by a layman. The title of Bishop for this highest individual in the Church was much discussed, as also the aptness of its application to the "General Superintendents". Finally, the action recorded above was taken,—and the question of title was for the nonce dismissed.

Now for the creation of a Creed. This contest became so acrid that it brought about the rejection of the entire Constitution by a dangerously large number of members of the Synod. At the second reading even, the form laid down by the Committee of the General Assembly, as well as the older one of the High Consistory and a Committee of Officers of the General Synod and also a new one offered as a compromise, were rejected, so that there was no formula of faith at all. This was indicative of the position of many who held that a Creed did not

belong in the Constitution but was already presupposed by it. Nevertheless in all the proposals it occupied its own humble place in the Introduction to the Constitution—in the Preface or Preamble—a place where it might not be taken as law, but as a statement of fact with regard to the respective beliefs.

In the third definitive reading a change was nevertheless made. The united "Right" introduced a formula, changed to suit its views,—certainly only by way of Preface,—and passed it against united opposition. One hundred and twenty-six votes were cast favorably to the Creed, seventy-seven against, while two failed to vote. The accepted "Creed" refers to Christ as the "Son of the Living God, the Crucified, the Risen, Head of the Church"; the Apostle's and other Creeds of the ancient Church are acknowledged as binding, as also the Augsburg Confession, their "Apology," the small and large catechism of Luther, the "Smalcald Articles" as well as the Heidelberg Catechism for the "Reformed" and the other "Professions" where these may be in force (in ancient Prussian Churches). On the "Right" they wished to ignore in this long "Formula" that, for instance, the Smalcaldic Articles included a whole series of the strongest, most insulting affronts to the Catholic Church in Luther's most angry manner; that, moreover, the Heidelberg (Catechism) contained contradictions of Luther's Catechism and that by approving of "any of the Creeds" of ancient Prussian origin they were making Confusion in Doctrine the "unassailable ground of belief," to quote them. Of the "Creed" we can only say that at the end of the Assembly when the third reading had been hurriedly completed in a day and a half that the Right indignant at the contradictions, acted precipitously. Of the sixteen Professors of Theology present, only five voted when called; among its opposers there were also a number of General Superintendents.

The so-called "Middle" voted with the "Left." In their name, the celebrated Jurist of the University of Berlin, Dr. Kahl, made an attack upon the "Formula" and the Constitution and that before voting. The speakers of the other "Left" groups joined him in heated denunciation. Disturbed and yet in the greatest silence all listened as the aged Kahl bore witness in a loud voice at this highly fateful hour; that to subject to majority

vote questions of conscience was contrary to the essence of the Evangelical Church; no Synod in the whole of Evangelical Christendom was competent; that his friends would never recognize a doctrinal bond in the Preface to the Constitution, out of respect to that "Liberty of Conscience" secured by Luther and out of a sense of duty to the truth. At the same time he promised for his great "Middle-Party" that they would remain "Evangelicals."

The importance of that critical day comes home to a person only when he considers the great circle of both educated and common people who are represented by the opposing side. In the case of the great mass of "Evangelicals," their opponents could gauge their attitude. The conservative "Reichsbote" of Berlin wrote under this head: "The real Church in its present faulty condition does not stand upon the pledge of belief of the Assembly at all"; and a Theologian of the "Left" wrote of the apathetic crowd of Church-goers: "Nine-tenths of them do not know whether they are 'Positive' or 'Liberal'."

To think of a man placed in a position where he will have to bring about order—making a confession of that kind! At no time in the history of Protestantism has such a revelation of internal untenableness been wrung as in the late attempted establishment of her fundamental doctrines. Add to that the necessity under which she lay of submitting the entire Constitution for State sanction. The Prussian Government must place the stamp of approval upon the articles of faith by an Act of Parliament and then give authority to the entire project. Certainly there was nothing of this kind in the beginnings of the Catholic Church; nothing like that has taken place in the entire course of its earthly existence. She has always taken recourse to the words of the Lord Almighty: "*Ego mitto vos*" and the solemn "*super hunc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*."

After the Synod separated, tired and irritated, disillusioned and humbled, dogged by evidences of disunion and inconsequence, a widespread movement against it set in among the circle of ecclesiastics and Church officials itself. Until the present (November, 1922) it has been gaining in strength at every Assembly and public address. Its object is to obtain recognition at the next election of the General Synod and to in-

fluence civil authorities against the disputed articles and so to destroy all hope of their acceptance. They will be undoubtedly successful in alienating more members of the Church from official Protestantism. Especially will this be the case if the expected burden of added church taxation is imposed. We cannot, however, prophesy whether or not the apathetic masses will be roused to the formation of new churches or of openly splitting up into further sects. Religious interest is too slight, indifference towards ecclesiastical matters too far flung to expect much effort in the direction of a reconstruction. In general Protestantism has, since Luther's time, been destructive rather than constructive and this is true even of the great sects. If we inquire into their cultural achievements, however exaggerated these may be, we always find in sharp contrast the ruined religious life for which Protestantism is responsible. Everywhere we discover Protestant groups thoroughly leavened with materialism and indifferentism. The late development—fictitious Societies—ripened earliest in their aspirations towards the formation of new sects; in them we find that element that had been repelled by the coldness of Protestantism. Then also there is the so-called "High Church Union" with its relatively small number of adherents which has taken steps that must soon tend to a separation. Only we do not wish to indulge in prophecies.

If we compare German Protestantism with non-Catholic denominations in America we must concede them the preference in more lively Christian thought and sentiment. In American denominational Churches there is more insistence upon the Divine Founder of Christianity, than among present day disciples of Luther in Germany; the Apostle's Creed means more to them; and especially, the Bible is more revered among them, in accord with Luther's insistence among us. In the matter of Baptism and the "Lord's Supper," the sects of the New World must still give place to a certain extent to German Protestantism, even though here also the "Enlightened" in non-Catholic circles have declared Baptism superfluous and the "Supper" a worn out custom. In Germany it is principally attributable to the State Church that Protestants are born members of their Church rather than that free choice is allowed the individual

when once he has arrived at full maturity. Child-baptism, Luther wisely took from that Tradition towards which he professed indifference and even hatred—certainly it is not to be found in the Bible.

He knew that it would be useful if his Church were to continue; he recognized the dangers lurking in free choice of the individual, even while he so favored Individualism in other matters. American Churches give wider play to individualism than German Churches. Moreover, they possess a larger measure of enthusiasm than the German is capable of; certainly an enthusiasm that must degenerate into what the "Revivals" show it to be, and that traces its origin either to national characteristics or to false ideas of the marvellous.

A powerful effort toward unity, a striving for concerted action is a further characteristic of American Protestantism, though lacking in German heirs of the Reformation. In America, where national Catholicity is wanting, there is a greater reason for imitating the things common to ecclesiastical organization than among Protestants in our country. There is always some appeal being made for a "World Union" cropping out in churches there. The results have not been great hitherto, nor will they be in the future, especially if racial prejudices interfere,—as for instance, in the case of Germany in the World War. American unity efforts suffer both for a lack of authority,—as for instance is the Papacy among Catholics,—and of a "common creed" such as the Catholics possess. The same is true of the many smaller unionizing efforts among German Protestant bodies. Recent attempts have really been very modest. The Scandinavian countries are practically the only ones to be considered under this head in foreign lands. Here we can cite the efforts of Archbishop Soederblom of Stockholm as being particularly in point, but till now these have also remained barren.

On the other hand, in the interior of Germany a "Church Alliance" has been formed among the "Established Churches" (May 25, 1922 at Wittenberg). It was at an ecclesiastical Assembly at Dresden that preparations were made upon foundations laid at Stuttgart in 1921. Nor was it brought to completion without much friction between the "Left" and "Right"

Parties at Dresden. An understanding was reached solely by prescind from any "Creed" and by recognizing all "Established Church" idiosyncracies. The "Deutschevangelische Kirchenbund" (German Evangelical Church Alliance) means only a pooling of interests. The front line has merely been strengthened against Rome. In the "Eternal City" this Alliance has erected a new church which it has called "Church of Luther" as though to show this antagonism to Rome. The German Church was erected by subscription and not yet in use at the outbreak of the war. The Italians took possession of it, as property of an enemy power but have given it back again and in October, 1922, it was solemnly dedicated. As it belongs to the "Church Alliance" it is not devoted to worship according to any particular Creed of the Reformation. Therefore, services must of necessity be changeable, e.g., either the "Reformed" or Lutheran service.

The "Reformed," who base their belief upon Calvinism, gather there at the table of the "Lord's Supper" and acknowledge no real presence of Christ under the appearance of bread and wine; Lutherans receive Christ present (without Transubstantiation); the Neo-Protestants are satisfied with a mystico-spiritual presence (all at one and the same service). Of the difficulties in preaching, no mention is necessary.

The new church at Rome was meant to be a "spite-church" against the Papacy. It is instead of that a type of that internal contradiction of that state of disunion, and ruinous dissolution that has stared at us from all of the preceding pages, and that entered upon its newest and perhaps most dangerous phase for Protestantism in Germany at the time of the framing of the Constitution.

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ST. BERNARD AND THE PAPACY.¹

The quarter-century that rolled from 1125 to 1150 is an arresting moment in the history of the Church. It is a time of pause between two great waves of energy. The Investiture Struggle had just been concluded when this period began. The debates between Alexander IV and Barbarossa came just after its close. Two notable defenders of ecclesiastical liberties and "the privileges of their order" flourished and fought just before and after it: Anselm who died in 1109, and Becket who was murdered in 1170. Gregory VII had lived and ruled; Innocent III was soon to come; and in the meanwhile reigned three pontiffs, Honorius II, Innocent II and Eugenius III, who, if they did not share the greatness of those illustrious names, still profited by the eminence of their predecessors and were centres of attention and sources of great authority in their day. For the Papacy was slowly but surely mounting to its international position, which some historians regard as the impudent aggression of priestcraft and others as an attempt at a noble European polity founded on truth rather than expediency. But whichever the mediaeval power of the Papacy was, it *was* a power; and at this moment it was coming towards the apex of that power. Mediaeval theory concerning relations of Church and State and the "Holiness" of the Roman Empire was dominant; Lothaire was called the 'priest's emperor'; and Louis VII and Conrad III thought nothing more obvious than their duty to wage war in Syria. Suger and Norbert sat in the councils of kings, and in Italy was being made ready that famous instrument of the Canon law, the "Decretum Gratiani." Whether for good or evil, then, the star of the Papacy was in the ascendant, and it is a particularly interesting time of which to know what were the views and thoughts and positions of contemporaries regarding the Roman See.

At this time there was one man probably the greatest and most influential individual in Europe, Bernard of Clairvaux. Among his many gifts he had that of frequent and sincere ex-

¹ Paper read at Third Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New Haven, Conn., Dec. 27-30, 1922.

pression and a very large content of epistolary and other writing has been left by him. Often the value of a man's thought to us is decided by the side he took in a controversy and by the historian's personal valuation of that side. But Bernard stood out with such individuality, determined questions with such independence, and had gifts of moral earnestness and courage so commanding that particular attention is paid to his statements, and they are weighed with a certain deference even by those who like not the causes in which he was enlisted. What then were *his* views about the questions of Church and State?

The best of Roman popes and chancellors have, we may allow, their defects. The popes and chancellors of the twelfth century had theirs; and Bernard was too clearsighted not to see them, and too strong, seeing them, not to call attention to them. He could, like most saints, see the beam in his own eye, but he was never wanting in the vision or courage to point out the mote that was in his brother's. References in his works to abuses in the mediaeval system, remonstrances addressed to the offending personages are expressed with such directness as Paul may have used to Peter in Antioch. but which modern apostles and abbots scarcely use in Rome. It would be easy to accumulate references of this kind only that the work has been done for us. The writer of the best known English biography of the saint has based on these texts the assertion that Bernard was a Luther born in a time unripe.² Assertions like this can be supported by carefully picked selections from his writings, so we might conclude that this eye of keen discernment and this judgment of high moral strength disapproved or was intolerant of the characteristic claims and policies of his time.

As a matter of fact quite the reverse is true. It is only a question of reading Bernard's life and turning over pages to see that he was devoted heart and soul to that particular form of ecclesiastical unity and of practical politics that was manifested by the papacy of his time. The papacy had then as always claims to universal and sovereign authority in the Church in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical; but besides this it had a temporal state in Central Italy, and, since 1049, held a place of growing

² MORRISON, *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, p. 427.

prominence in the civil affairs of European peoples. To this situation as he found it Bernard was not only accustomed but loyal. Let us examine his views on these points one by one.

First as to the spiritual primacy and catholic jurisdiction:

"And now according to promise I must consider the things that are beneath thee. What they are you will not need to ask of me, O best of priests, Eugenius: you might better ask what these are not. He must go out of the world who wants to find something that is not subject to thy care. Thy predecessors were destined to conquer not a few regions but the world itself: 'Go into the whole world' was said to them. They therefore selling their tunics bought swords, the fiery speech and the mighty spirit, arms puissant under God."³

He goes on thus making a general statement of the universality of the Pontiff's jurisdiction, characteristic in style and in its peculiar use of Scripture phrases, but otherwise not greatly different from what a de Maistre or some other modern eulogizer might say after the full development of the theology of Papal claims. He then continues reminding Eugenius that this wide principate is given him not that he may merely rule, but that like Gregory he may strive to bring all nations to the bosom of the Church.

In the same book⁴ he gives some concrete instances of what the papal care should be. In the Council at Rheims, he says, the pope's own lips had promulgated certain laws concerning clerical dress and the gradual promotion through clerical orders. These 'capitula' are not being observed. He reminds the pope that it is his right and duty to enforce these laws—an act of plenary jurisdiction.

Still stronger is his statement which he wrote to the Milanese in 1135. The local schism caused by the removal of their bishop Anselm and the installation of Ribadlo had been healed, but there were rumors of further discontent which reached Bernard's ears. He writes, urging them to be content

³ *De Cons.* III, 1.

⁴ *De Cons.* III, 5.

with Rome's past favours, or, if not, at least to remember her authority and power:

But someone says: 'I shall show her (Rome) *due* reverence and no more.' So be it; do what thou sayest; for if thou showest due, thou showest absolute reverence. For the fulness of power over all the churches of the world has been given by special prerogative to the Apostolic See. So that he who resisteth this power resisteth the ordination of God. It can if it finds useful make new dioceses where there were none. As it sees fit it can lower or raise the dioceses already existing and make bishops archbishops or vice versa, if it seems necessary. It can call the highest ecclesiastics from the ends of the earth and summons them to its presence, not once or twice but as often as it shall find it expedient. Nay it is in its power to avenge all disobedience if any try to resist.

This doctrine he repeats in his maturer age⁵. Probably he could not have made himself clearer if he had been at the Vatican Council of 1870.

There are not many instances of the Pontiff's duty to guard the *faith* as distinguished from order and discipline. Yet the case of Peter Abelard caused him to invoke the exercise of this function too. Letter 330, written about 1140, tells Innocent that the Spouse of Christ is being dishonoured by the unclean heresies of Abelard and Arnold, and calls upon him as the friend of the Bridegroom not to delay his aid, to look to her defense and to gird on his sword.

Finally let us sum up Bernard's ecclesiology by another quotation from the *Liber de Consideratione*:

Thou art he to whom the keys were given, to whom the sheep were entrusted. There are indeed other gate-keepers of heaven, other shepherds of flocks, but thou inheritest both names more gloriously because in a different way from the rest. They have flocks assigned to them, one apiece; to you alone all are entrusted as one universal flock.'

⁵ *De Cons.* II, 8.

⁶ *De Cons.* II, 8.,,

As far then as the spiritual claims of the Papacy are concerned we find it difficult to discover any potential Lutheranism in Bernard's doctrines.

But what of the secular claims? What of the temporal state in Central Italy? What of the world position of the Holy See and its claims as arbiter of the nations and exhorter to European union? These were accidental and temporary prerogatives of the popes, if you will, yet they were characteristic of the period. We can say that for both we have St. Bernard's fullest written endorsement.

In speaking to Eugenius about his Roman troubles (and what Mediaeval pope did not have his troubles with that "enfant terrible", the Roman Populace?) he counsels mildness and apostolic solicitude rather than severity. Yet he explicitly refers to and admits the "jus gladii", although he bases its use upon his own celebrated theory.

Therefore, I say, attack them the more, but in word and not by the sword. Why dost thou again try to use the sword which once thou wast ordered to put back in its sheath? Yet should anyone deny that the sword is thine (perhaps he alludes to Arnold of Brescia) he does not seem to me to listen enough to the Lord's word: 'Put up *thy* sword into its sheath'. Thine therefore is it, though perchance at thy behest and not by thy hand to be unsheathed.—Both therefore belong to the Church, the spiritual sword and the material; but the latter is to be drawn *for* the Church, the former *for* and *by* the Church; the spiritual by the priests' hand, though at the will of the priest and the Emperor's command.¹

Perhaps the most notable instance of the range of Ecclesiastical authority at this period was in the matter of trials and appeals to the Church courts. These trials were not only for ecclesiastics; the laity came into them, and sometimes they involved the interests of princes and kings. Their importance to the lay power can be recalled from the bitter struggle between Henry and Becket a generation later. Papal sovereignty came

¹ *De Cons.* IV, 3.

into the matter through the settling of appeals. The letters of Bernard are dense with allusions to these cases. Sometimes he recommends; frequently he complains. Much of the *Liber de Consideratione* is taken up with remonstrances about the frequency and ease with which these cases are heard and settled in Rome. Yet the principle that Rome must be the seat of appeals is firmly established for him.

I acknowledge that appeals are a great and general good to the world: as necessary as the sun itself to men.*

The practice and principle of involving military help from the secular arm in matters of ecclesiastical moment was not questioned by him. He writes from Rome in 1133 to Henry 1, of England:

We are at the entrance of the city; salvation is at the gates; justice is with us; but to the Roman soldiers that food is unsavoury. So while by justice we please God, with military force we terrify our enemies."

And in a letter of 1135 to Lothair, when he asks his aid for a second time against the schism:

It is not mine to exhort unto battle: but it is the part of the advocate of the Church (I say it confidently) to hold off from harming the church the fury of the Schismatics.

Or again he asks Conrad in 1146 to take arms against the factious Romans:

If any one attempts to persuade other things than this he surely either loveth not the king, or else hath little understanding of what suits the king's majesty: or certainly he seeks what are his own and not what are Gods' or the king's."

* *De Cons.* III, 2.

* Ep. CXXXVIII.

" Ep. CCXLIV.

How confidently the abbot of Clairvaux looked to Rome for leadership is seen in nothing better than in the affair of the Second Crusade. We think of Bernard at Vezelay with Louis VII, and afterwards pursuing Conrad III along the Rhine to make him take the Cross. And we very rightly recognize that he was the soul of the project. Yet he was not acting on personal initiative for in the previous year he had refused to act even though invited by Louis himself, and had bidden the king to wait until Rome had spoken. When he *did* act it was only after the pope's letter; and his tremendous eloquence was not unleashed at Vezelay until he had read the bull of Eugenius III as its prelude. He was of his time. He believed in the Crusade even after its failure. He saw in it God's cause and will. Yet he recognized the leadership as of the competency of the Roman See.

We have quoted texts to show Bernard's *ideas* on the Papacy. His life history shows much more clearly than even his own sincere words how thoroughly he ratified the claims and policies of Honorius, Innocent and Eugenius. At Etampes in 1130 it is he who swings the decision of the French episcopate and royalty to the cause of Innocent. Neglecting the cherished cloister life he accompanies the pope in his journeys to meet the kings of England and Germany and helps to secure their support. Twice he goes to Aquitaine, the centre of schism, to heal it; and thrice he undertakes long and distasteful trips to Italy because Innocent finds him indispensable. At Milan, at Genoa, at Pisa, Rome, Monte Cassino, Benevento, Salerno; with princes, merchants, bishops; with quarrelsome orthodox and obstinate schismatics; with the crowds of Milanese and with individual ring leaders of dissent; with Peter of Pisa and Roger of Sicily, his eloquence is powerful to procure recognition of truth and accomplishment of right, and finally subdues the antipope himself to submission. In France his activity is omnipresent to stay the effects of schism. He fights Arnold of Brescia, the antipapal revolutionary, with as much intensity as Abelard, the promoter of more speculative heresies. He recreates the Crusade at the will of Eugenius, writing to England, Denmark, Moravia, Poland, Spain, and touring Flanders and the Rhineland to make the papal decree a reality. It is through the last

and maturest years of his life that he pens at various moments the *Liber de Consideratione* to the quondam pupil whom he now reverences as Lord and spiritual father, Eugenius III. In the face of these facts others sink into insignificance. A few complaints do not weigh against the devotion of a man's whole lifetime. The sharp criticisms that he occasionally made were not the language of revolt but of honest duty. If we must seek a Luther in the Twelfth Century it is not at Clairvaux that we shall find him.

It did not take the Church long to get rid of the notion that Christianity should depend on the leadership of personal talents and enthusiasm. Prophecies and glossolaly ceased; the Apostolic hierarchy continued. It became the practice not to follow any fervent and clever Gnostic or Chiliast, but to stay with the safer minds in the communion of the great church Catholic. It was dogmatic teaching that the hierarchy is a divine fact. It was Christian feeling that individuals—even intellectual and spiritual ones—owe loyalty to the divinely appointed hierarchy although it be controlled by men less gifted than themselves. Unity is more important than any shining of bright particular lights. Some gifted heresiarchs, not thinking so, have scattered their gifts for paltry admiration. But Irenaeus and Cyprian gave witness in their time, and Bossuet and Newman in theirs, and Bernard in his, that even greatness must serve, that the system is above the man, that obedience is better than splendour. To no mere ends of his own, however high; to no self-conceived work, however necessary and however cherished, did he confine his remarkable energies and endowments, but to the work of the Church Catholic as designated by its visible head “*pro-tempore existente*.” To these ends and works much of his time was dedicated, in their accomplishment consisted much of his success, in this loyalty was perhaps the chief brightness of his crown.

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MISCELLANY

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

of our Holy Father, by Divine Providence, Pope Pius XI, on the occasion of the sixth centenary of the canonisation of St. Thomas Aquinas.

To our venerable Brethren, the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See,

PIUS P.P. XI.

Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Blessing.

Only recently in an apostolic letter, following and confirming the statutes of Canon Law, we declared Thomas Aquinas to be the guide of youth who are engaged in the higher ecclesiastical studies. The approaching commemoration of the six hundredth anniversary of St. Thomas's enrollment among the throng of the saints affords an excellent opportunity of urging; and insisting upon the supreme profit to be derived by those who make themselves pupils of so great a Doctor. For true science and genuine piety are linked together in a wondrous kinship. God is very Truth and Supreme Goodness; therefore, when God's glory is sought in the salvation of souls—and that is the chief and essential function of the Church—it is not enough that the ministers of holy things should be well instructed in necessary knowledge, but that they should also abound in becoming virtues. This marvellous fellowship of doctrine with piety, of learning with virtue, of truth with charity, was singularly preeminent in the Doctor. He is likened to the sun because he sheds both light and warmth: he pours illumination into the mind and enkindles the flame of virtue in the will. God, the Fount of wisdom and holiness, seems to have wished to show forth in Thomas how intimately linked are the practice of virtue and the contemplation of truth, and how a deeper pondering of truth produces more perfect and embellished virtues. He who lives purely and spotlessly and has curbed all unruly desires is set free from a great hindrance: unshackled and disembarrassed, he can lift his soul to heaven and look into the hidden things of God. As Thomas himself said: 'First life, then teaching; for the life leads to the knowledge of the truth.' Similarly the sustained effort to understand supernatural things excites men to live more perfectly. Such knowledge must not be thought barren or useless: it teems with life and utility and its beauty is capable of enthralling and transforming the whole man.

These are the things, venerable Brethren, we should learn from this

¹ Comment. in Matth., V.

commemoration; but in order that they may appear more clearly, We have deemed it fitting to speak briefly in this Letter of the holiness and teaching of Thomas Aquinas and to show the effects that flow therefrom for the priesthood and especially for those who are preparing for Orders. Moreover, we have wished to give a suitable document to all Christendom.

Thomas possessed all the virtues in an excellent degree, and, according to his own teaching, they were all connected, growing together and rooted in charity 'which gives the form to the acts of all the virtues.' But if we would seek for special and peculiar marks of holiness, we should single out that virtue which gives Thomas a certain likeness to angelic natures, namely chastity. This virtue he kept unsullied in the face of a critical and perilous temptation and was worthy to be mystically girded by angels. This high regard for purity was combined with hatred of the transitory joys of earth and a half scorn for worldly honour. With inflexible firmness he resisted the insistent coaxings of his relations who wished him to be advanced to high places, and his own earnest entreaties prevented the Supreme Pontiff from conferring upon him the highest dignities and offices of the Church. But the chief and distinguishing feature of Thomas's sanctity is what St. Paul calls *the word of wisdom* (I Cor. xii, 8)—that combination of acquired and infused wisdom which is the fruit of humility, zeal for prayer and holy love of God.

Humility was truly the foundation in which Thomas's other virtues were fixed,—witness the meek obedience he showed to a lay-brother. Humility likewise shines transparently through his writings which are fragrant with loyal obedience to the Fathers of the Church. 'So greatly he revered the ancient Doctors that he would seem to have inherited the minds of them all.' But his humility is supremely evidenced by the fact that he used his God-given genius not for his personal glory but solely in the cause of truth. While other philosophers spend themselves in spreading abroad their own brilliance, he strives to hide himself behind his teaching, and thereby the heavenly light of truth alone gleams forth from him in unalloyed radiance.—Humility then and cleanness of heart together with unflagging zeal for prayer made the soul of Thomas docile and ready to yield to the promptings and illuminations of the Holy Ghost. The very principles and essence of contemplation consist in the acceptance and the following out of these inspirations. In order the more readily to obtain these illuminations from above, he would often abstain from food, spend whole nights in prayerful vigil and, surrendering to a holy impulse, he would repeatedly lean his head against the tabernacle and he would constantly turn his eyes with sorrow and love towards the image of Jesus Crucified; and he confided to his friend, St. Bonaventure, that, whatever he knew, he had for the most part learned from the Book of the Crucifix. Truly it could be said of Thomas as it was said of Dominic, his Father, that he never spoke except of God or to God.

² 2^a, 2^{ae}, XXIII, 8. 1^a, 2^{ae}, LXV.

² Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris*.

Since he was wont to contemplate everything in God, the First Cause and Last End of all things, it was easy for him in his *Summa Theologica* and in his life to follow the two-fold wisdom of which we have already spoken. Here is his own description: 'By means of the wisdom which is acquired by human study, we have a right judgement about divine things according to the perfect use of reason. But there is another wisdom that comes down from above and judges of divine things by virtue of the natural affinity it has with them. This is the gift of the Holy Ghost... by which a man is made perfect in divine things, not only learning but also experiencing divine things.'

This God-given or infused wisdom in company with the other gifts of the Holy Ghost and charity, the queen of all the virtues, increased continually in the heart of Thomas. For him it was a most certain doctrine that the love of God must always be on the increase: 'This is evident from the very form of the commandment, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart*; the whole is the same as the perfect... *The end of the commandment is charity*, as the Apostle says (I Tim., i, 5) and the end is not subject to a measure, but only such things as are subject to the end.'² And that is why the perfection of charity falls under a commandment and why everyone, according to his state of life, is strictly bound to strive after the perfection of charity. Further, charity properly makes a man tend towards God and it so unites his will to God that he no longer lives to himself, but unto God alone.³ Consequently the ever-increasing love of God and the two-fold wisdom wrought in Thomas a complete and perfect forgetfulness of self so that when Jesus spoke to him from the crucifix the words, *Well hast thou written of me, Thomas: what reward would thou have?* he answered, *None, Lord but Thee*. Thus fired with charity, he ceased not from deeds of service for others, either by writing books or assisting his brethren in their labours, relieving the poor even to the extent of despoiling himself of his own clothing, restoring health to the sick—witness the miracle he worked upon a poor woman who was healed of an issue of blood by touching the fringe of his habit as he went up to preach at the Vatican Basilica on Easter Day.

And in which of the Doctors shall we find St. Paul's word of wisdom more eminently than in the Angelical? For his teaching does not simply instruct the minds of men, but impels their hearts to the keenest and most zealous love of God. 'God's love pours forth and creates goodness in things,' as he himself beautifully says; and he never wearies of illustrating all the mysteries of this diffusion of the divine Goodness. 'Hence it belongs to the essence of the highest Good to communicate itself in the highest manner to the creature, which God has chiefly brought about

² 2a, 2ae, XLV, 1, ad 2: 2.

³ 2a, 2ae, CLXXXIV, 3.

⁴ 2a, 2ae, XVII, 6, ad 2m.

⁵ I. XX, 2.

through the Incarnation." St. Thomas's genius and the love that burned within him appear nowhere more gloriously than in the Office he composed in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. For this ineffable Sacrament he summed up his life-long devotion when, upon receiving the Viaticum, he said, '*I receive Thee the price of my soul's redemption; for Thy love I have studied, watched and laboured.*'

From this slight glance at Thomas's great virtues it will not be difficult to understand the extraordinary excellence of his doctrine and the great authority it holds in the Church. Our Predecessors, as it were with unanimous utterance, have sounded its praises. Alexander IV during the very lifetime of Thomas did not hesitate to write: 'To our beloved son, Thomas Aquinas, conspicuous for nobility and uprightness of life, who has through the grace of God established a whole treasury of scholarly science.' And after his departure from this life, John XXII seems to have declared not only his virtues but even his doctrine sacrosanct, when addressing the Cardinals in Consistory, he uttered these memorable words: 'He has illumined the Church more than all the other Doctors. A man will make more progress during one year in his books than a whole life-time spent in the writings of others.'

The greatness of Thomas's intellectual glory was acknowledged by Pius V who declared him a Doctor of the Church with the title of the Angelic. His fame in the Church is indicated by the fact that the Fathers at the Council of Trent reverently proposed to place two books open upon the altar, the Scriptures and the *Summa Theologica*. But it is not possible to recount all the innumerable documents of the Apostolic See, yet we must not omit to mention Leo XIII, who did so much to revive Thomistic studies. This one work alone, even apart from all else that he did so wisely and well, would have been enough to secure for our Illustrious Predecessor, Leo, immortal fame and glory. Pius X, of holy memory, following Leo's worthy example, declared the splendour of St. Thomas in his *motu proprio, Doctoris Angelici*, in which he said, 'Since the death of the holy Doctor there has never been a council of the Church at which he was not present by his doctrine and influence.' More recently Benedict XV, our beloved Predecessor, more than once repeated the same saying; and it was reserved for him to give in the Code of Canon Law which he promulgated a unique consecration to 'the method, doctrine and principles' of the Angelic Doctor. We ourselves therefore, in approving these tributes to so great a genius, consider that Thomas should be called not only the *Angelic* but also the *Common* or *Universal* Doctor of the Church, because his doctrine the Church has made her own. But because it would be an almost endless task to follow out all the causes and explanations our Predecessors have given of Thomas's excellence, it will suffice to show that St. Thomas wrote, as he lived, inspired by a supernatural impulse, and that therefore his writings in which all the principles and laws of holy

^a III, I, 1.

^c Cf. Can. 1366, § 2.

learning are contained, may be said to be of a universal nature and appeal.

For, whenever by teaching or writing, he treats of divine things, he gives to theologians a splendid example of the intimate relationship that should exist between study and personal devotion. The man who can reproduce an external description of a strange land cannot be said to know it quite in the same way as one who has actually lived there; so too no one can acquire an intimate knowledge of God by mere scientific investigations unless he lives a life of close union with God. The whole theology of St. Thomas is a practical study in friendship with God. As a small boy at Monte Casino he ceaselessly asked, *What is God?* and the writings of his mature manhood are an effort to answer this question; whether he is treating of the creation of the world, of man, laws, virtues or the Sacraments—all is seasoned with the thought of God, the Author of our salvation.

St. Thomas enumerates the causes that make sacred study fruitless and barren: these are curiosity (which is the disordered lust for knowledge), intellectual sloth and the cowardly shirking of difficulties; and as remedies against these, he urges a lively eagerness for work which will enkindle the fires of piety and gather force and strength from a holy life. Sacred studies are guided by a three-fold light, right reason, God-given faith and the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Thomas abounded in all three. He would humbly implore the Lord with fasts and prayers for the explanation of his difficulties; and God, in his kindness, would hearken to him and even send the Princes of the Apostles to instruct him. Hence it is no wonder that at the end of his mortal life when he had reached the loftiest heights of contemplation, he should regard all his writings and sayings as so much chaff, and that he should say he could dictate no more: he could now only await the vision of God. Thomas has told us that the chief fruits of sacred study are a great love of God and a great desire for eternal things.

By his examples he teaches us how we should enter into our studies and at the same time he gives us the firm and unshaken principles that should govern them all. Has any other master explained the nature, method and division of philosophy better than he? Consider only the clearness with which he remonstrates how all the parts and members of this science fit so beautifully and harmoniously into an ordered whole. 'It is the function of a wise man,' he said, 'to order. Because wisdom is chiefly the perfection of the reason whose property is to know the order and relation of things, for, although the senses arrive at the knowledge of things absolutely, yet it belongs to the mind or reason alone to know the order of one to another. Sciences are diverse according to the different orders that reason properly considers. The order which reason makes in its own act of consideration belongs to rational philosophy (or *Logic*) whose function is to consider the order of the parts of speech one to another and the relation of principles to conclusions and to one another.

³⁹ Ethic. Lect., I.

Natural Philosophy (*Physica*) considers the order of things which human reason considers but does not create, so that under the heading of Natural Philosophy is comprised *Metaphysics*. The order of voluntary acts belongs to Moral Philosophy which is divided into three parts: the first considers an individual man's operations ordained to an end and is called *Monastic*; the second considers the operations of a domestic group and is called *Economic*; the third considers the operations of men in a city or state and is called *Political*.¹⁰ Of all these parts of philosophy Thomas has treated, each in its own sphere. Beginning with those which have, most affinity with human reason, he gradually mounts until he reaches 'the topmost summit and crown of all things.'¹¹

St. Thomas's words on the power and value of the human mind are sacred. 'Our intellect naturally knows being and those things that essentially belong to being, and upon this knowledge the knowledge of first principles is founded.'¹² This phrase does away, root and branch, with the erroneous opinions of those modern philosophers who hold that in the act of understanding, it is not *being* that is perceived, but a suggestion or impression of the percipient himself. These errors lead to *Agnosticism* which was so vigorously condemned in the Encyclical *Pascendi*.

The arguments that Thomas uses to prove the existence of God and to show that He is the One self-subsisting Being are as valid to-day as they were in the Middle Ages; and the Church's dogma, solemnly defined in the Vatican Council, most clearly confirms them. Pius X thus interprets them: 'That God, the beginning and end of all things, can be certainly known by the natural light of reason, through those things that are made, i.e. through the visible works of his creation, as a cause is known in its effects, is a fact that can be demonstrated.'¹³ And although his metaphysical teachings have aroused the bitterness of hostile critics, yet they still retain their force and splendour like pure gold that no acid can dissolve or tarnish. Truly and wisely did our Predecessor say: 'To desert Aquinas, especially in his metaphysical teachings, is to risk disaster.'¹⁴

The most noble of human studies is philosophy; but in the present order of God's providence it cannot be said to excel every other study since it does not cover the whole order of God's creation. In his *Summa contra Gentes* and in the beginning of his *Summa Theologica*, the Holy Doctor describes another order of things above nature and beyond the grasp of reason, a sphere of which man would have had no inkling unless the Divine Goodness had revealed it to him. This is the region where Faith rules: the science of faith is called Theology. And this science will be the more perfect in any one in proportion as he is more deeply versed in the doctrines of faith,—and the fuller and more perfect will be his

¹⁰ *Contra Gent.* II, 56 IV., 1.

¹¹ *Contra Gent.* II, 83.

¹² *Sacrorum Antistitum*, 1 Sep., MCMX.

¹³ *Pascendi*, 8 Sep., MCMVII.

faculty for philosophising. There is no doubt that Theology reached the apex of its dignity in the works of Aquinas, who combined an absolute knowledge of divine things with a force of intellect wondrously fitted for philosophical argument. Wherefore, both in our schools of philosophy and Theology, St. Thomas holds the supreme mastership. In Theology there is no reason into which his incredibly fruitful genius has not happily penetrated. He was the first to establish *Apologetics* upon a sound and genuine basis: he well defined the difference between faith and reason and accurately distinguished the natural from the supernatural order. The holy Vatican Council, in declaring the things that can be naturally known about religion, says, that in order to know all things certainly and without error some divine revelation was needed; but in order to know the mysteries of God, divine revelation was absolutely necessary; and, in framing its definitions, the Council has borrowed from the arguments of St. Thomas. Whoever undertakes to defend Christian doctrine should adopt this principle of St. Thomas: 'To give assent to the things of faith even though they be above reason is not a sign of shallowness or lightmindedness.'¹⁵ He shows that although the things of faith are difficult and obscure, nevertheless there are obvious and clear reasons why a man should believe them and that 'he would not believe them unless he saw that they ought to be believed.'¹⁶ He further adds that faith is not a hindrance or a yoke that enslaves: it is man's most priceless boon: 'faith is the beginning within us of eternal life.'

Of that other part of theology, which deals with the interpretation of dogma, there is no wealthier nor more prolific author than Thomas. Nor has anyone ever pierced more deeply nor expounded with more subtlety the most august mysteries, such as the intimate life of God, the difficult problem of divine predestination, the supernatural ruling of the world, the power that helps rational creatures to attain their last end, the redemption of the human race achieved by Jesus Christ and continued in the Church by means of the Sacraments, both of which (Church and Sacraments) are called by the Angelic Doctor 'certain relics of the divine Incarnation.'

Likewise he reared up a solid fabric of moral theology which is eminently capable of directing man's actions to their supernatural end. And since he is so clearly perfect in his theology, he gives secure reasons and precepts not only for the direction of man's individual life, but likewise for domestic and civil society. Thus he is our source for economic and political science. In the Second Part of his *Summa Theologica* he deals with paternal authority and family life, of the lawful authority in state or nation, of the law of nature and international law, of peace and war, justice and property, of laws and allegiance, of our duties to private individuals and the common good, and that in the natural as well as in the supernatural order. If in private, in public and in international relations

¹⁵ Contra Gent. I, 6.

¹⁶ 2a, 2ae, I, 4.

¹⁷ De Veritate, XIV, 2.

all these things that Thomas lays down were kept holy and inviolate, nothing more would be needed to reconcile man to 'the peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ' which the whole world so greatly desires. It is to be earnestly wished that those who deal with the problems of international law might consult Aquinas in their efforts to lay the foundation of what is called a *League of Nations*.

Nor is his ascetical and mystical science any less noble. He reduces the whole of moral discipline to the virtues and gifts, and he excellently defines the same method and discipline for various states of life, whether for those who follow the ordinary Christian life or for those who strive after consummate perfection, whether in a contemplative or active order. Therefore if we wish to understand the first Commandment and its extent and how charity and the accompanying gifts of the Holy Ghost increase if we would know all the many states of life for instance of perfection, the religious life, the apostolate, and in what they differ and what is their nature and force, if we are seeking to know these and such points of ascetic and mystical theology, we must first of all approach the Angelic Doctor.

Whatever he composed, he accurately based and constructed upon Holy Writ. For, beginning with the belief that Scripture is in each and all of its parts the Word of God, he diligently used in its interpretation those laws which our Predecessors, Leo XIII, in his Encyclical Letter *Providentissimus Deus*, and Benedict XV, in his Encyclical Letter *Spiritus Paraclitus*, have sanctioned and approved. He laid it down as a principle that: 'The Principal Author of Scripture is the Holy Ghost...Man was the instrumental author.'" Of the absolute historical authority of the Bible there can be no doubt, but, for the meaning of the words and the literal sense he based himself upon a rich and fruitful spiritual sense of which he explained there was a threefold division: the allegorical, tropological and anagogical.

Lastly, it was his singular gift to be able to turn his theological teaching into beautiful liturgical prayers and hymns. He has become the supreme poet and herald of the Eucharist. Wherever the Catholic Church exists, his hymns will be heard—those hymns which combine an emotional and prayerful piety with a perfect and unparalleled exposition of the doctrinal bearings of this august Sacrament which is chiefly called the *Mysterium Fidei*. None will therefore wonder that he has won for himself the title of the Eucharistic Doctor.

From the things we have already called to mind, we should like to gather some practical facts. First it behoves our young men, especially, to look to St. Thomas and to strive to imitate sedulously the great and beautiful virtues that shine forth in him. Before all they should learn humility, which is the foundation of the spiritual life, and chastity. Let them learn from a man of sovereign genius and of sovereign doctrine to

¹ *Quodlib*, VII, 14 ad 5.

hold in horror all puffed-up pride of mind and to unite with their studies humble prayers for a full out-pouring of the divine light. Let them learn from so great a master to fly with watchful care the fascinations of evil delight lest the eyes of their mind be dimmed to the perfect vision of truth. For St. Thomas confirms the perfect example of his own life by positive precepts: 'If anyone refrains from bodily delights in order more freely to yield himself to the contemplation of truth, this belongs to rectitude of reason.'¹⁰ Wherefore we are warned in Holy Writ *Wisdom shall not enter into a sinful soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sin* (Wisd. I, 4). If St. Thomas had not been victorious when his chastity was in peril, the Church would probably have had no Angelic Doctor. We sometimes see young men allured and ensnared by evil pleasures, despairfully forsaking holy purity and giving themselves up to the worst excesses; therefore, Venerable Brethren, it is our ardent wish that you should propagate, especially among youths destined for the priest-hood, the *Society of the Angelic Warfare*, founded under the patronage of St. Thomas for the preservation of this holy virtue; and regarding this Society, we confirm all the indulgences granted by Benedict XIII and our Predecessors. In order to make it the more easy for anyone to be enrolled in this holy Society, we grant the faculty to members of wearing, instead of a cord, a medal bearing on one side a representation of St. Thomas being girded by angels and on the other Our Lady Queen of the Holy Rosary.

St. Thomas who wonderfully combined within himself wisdom, infused and acquired, who had recourse to prayer and fasting to help in the solution of his difficulties, who regarded the Crucifix as the source of all his learning and his most precious Book, has been fittingly chosen as the Patron of all Catholic schools. But he should be recommended, especially to young men preparing for Orders, so that they may derive the greatest fruit from the highest of all possible studies. Members of the Religious Orders should look upon St. Thomas as a mirror of religious perfection. They should remember him as one who refused high dignities in order that he might live and die, humbly obedient in the holiness of his profession. And to all the faithful we would commend the example of his devotion to the Queen of Heaven whose Angelic Salutation he loved to recite and whose sweet Name he was accustomed to inscribe in the margins of his books, and also of his intense love for the Blessed Sacrament. We would remind priests that, as the writer of his Life says: 'Daily he would say Mass unless hindered by illness and he would hear another Mass which he frequently served.' But what words can describe the fervour and devotion with which he said Mass and rendered thanks to God afterwards?

In order to banish errors, in which lies the source of all the miseries of our time, we must cleave to the teachings of Aquinas more religiously and insistently than heretofore: for Thomas has altogether overthrown

¹⁰ 2a, 2ae, CLII, 2.

the modernists. In philosophy, as we have already said, he defends the power and validity of the human mind, proving with powerful arguments the existence of God. In matters of faith he distinguishes between the supernatural and the natural order, showing the motives for belief and explaining the dogmas themselves. In Theology he shows that what we accept by faith is not founded upon opinion, but upon unchangeable truth. In Biblical matters he delivers the genuine notion of divine inspiration. In social science and right he sets out the principles of social and legal justice (commutative and distributive), explaining the relationship between charity and justice. In ascetics and the science of Christian perfection he gives salutary counsels; and in his own day we know that he was a valiant defender of the Religious Orders against those who attacked them. Lastly against that freedom of thought, independent of God, which men commonly boast, he affirms the claims of the First Truth and God's supreme authority over us. It is not surprising that the modernists fear no Doctor of the Church more than they do Thomas Aquinas.

It was said of old to the Egyptians who were in need of corn, *Go to Joseph*; so to all who hunger for truth we would say, *Go to Thomas* for the food of sound doctrine that will sustain the soul unto everlasting life. For this food is easily accessible to all, witness the following testimony uttered during the process of his canonisation: 'Many doctors, religious and secular, have flourished upon the clear and luminous teaching of this Doctor because of its concise, clear and simple method.... Even the laity and the less learned in sacred science long to have his writings.'

We therefore wish all to take sedulous heed and to observe inviolate all that our Predecessors, especially Leo XIII²⁰ and Pius X²¹ have commanded, and also what we ourselves have already ordered; and this chiefly applies to those who hold positions of authority in the schools of higher studies for the clergy. Let them be assured that they will have done their duty and fulfilled our expectations when they have steeped themselves in the works of Aquinas and learnt to love him and communicated the same ardent love to their pupils and made them fit to arouse the same love in others.

Among the lovers of St. Thomas, as all sons of the Church engaged in higher studies should be, we long to see a healthy rivalry in study, provided there be none of those bitter recriminations which help not truth, but break the bonds of charity. The following canon of the Church's Code should be held as sacred command: 'In the study of rational philosophy and Theology and in the instruction of the students, the professors should entirely follow the method, doctrine and principles of the Angelic Doctor and hold them religiously,'²² and concerning this rule they should behave in a manner that entitles their calling him their Master. But let none expect from his neighbour more than the Church, the Teacher and Mother

²⁰ *Aeterni Patris.*

²¹ *Doctoris Angelici.*

²² Can. 1366, § 2.

of all, expects from all; that is to say, in those matters wherein the Catholic schools are divided according to the contrary opinions of approved authors, no one is forbidden to follow the view that seems to him more probably true.

When we honour Thomas we concern ourselves not merely with an appreciation of Thomas himself, but with something far greater, namely the authority of the Church as Teacher. Since then the whole of Christendom ought to celebrate this centenary worthily, We greatly desire that this should be done throughout the whole world during the present year (that is to say from the 18th of July to the end of the year following). Wherever clerical students are being trained, and this not only amongst the Friars Preachers, whose Order, in the words of Benedict XV, 'is to be praised not so much for having raised up Thomas as for never afterwards having by a hair's breadth swerved from his teaching,'²³ but amongst all other religious Orders, in all clerical colleges and in all large Catholic schools and academies, to whom he has been assigned as Patron. It is fitting that this sacred city in which for a time Aquinas held the office of Master of the Sacred Palace, should take a leading part in the celebrations; and that foremost amongst all houses of study in their manifestations of holy joy should be the Pontifical *Collegio Angelico* (where Thomas may be said to have his home) and the other Clerical training establishments in Rome.

To increase the brilliance and the fruits of this solemn festival, We grant the following privileges in virtue of our Apostolic authority:

(1) That in all churches of the Order of Preachers, and also in every church or chapel, open or accessible to the public, especially those of Seminaries, Colleges or houses for the education of youth, there should be devotions during a triduum, a week or a novena with all the pontifical indulgences which are usually to be gained in festivals of the Saints and Blessed in Heaven.

(2) That in churches of the Friars and Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic, it should be possible, on any one day during the celebrations, for all who have duly confessed their sins and received the Holy Eucharist to gain a plenary indulgence *toties quoties* for each visit to the altar of St. Thomas.

(3) That in churches of the Dominican Order, priests of the Order (including Tertiary priests) may on any Wednesday or on the first free day of the week throughout the year of the centenary, say the Mass of St. Thomas as prescribed for his feast, with or without *Gloria* and *Credo*, according to the liturgy of the day, and obtain a plenary indulgence on the usual conditions.

Further, there must be held in Seminaries and other houses of clerical study on some day within the whole of this time, a public disputation in philosophy or other serious study in honour of the Angelic Doctor. And henceforth, to observe the feast-day of St. Thomas, as befits the Patron

²³ Act. Apost. Sedis., 1916, p. 397.

of all Catholic schools, we wish that day to be a holyday from study, celebrated not only with High Mass but also—at least in Seminaries and religious houses—with a disputation such as we have just mentioned.

Finally, in order that the studies of our students, with Aquinas for Master, may daily yield more and more fruit to the glory of God and the Church, we append to this Letter the form of prayer which he himself used, and we beg you to see that it is widely published. Whosoever recites it, let him know that for each recitation, an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines is granted by authority.

As a pledge of God's blessing, and as a proof of our paternal good-will to you, Venerable Brethren, and to the clergy and people, entrusted to each of you, We affectionately impart the apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's the 29th day of June, on the feast of the Princes of the Apostles, in the year 1923, the second of our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. XI.

PRAYER.

Creator ineffabilis, qui de thesauris sapientiae tuae tres Angelorum hierarchies designasti, et eas super caelum empyreum miro ordine collocasti, atque universi partes elegantissime distribuisti; Tu, inquam, qui verus Fons Luminis et Sapientiae diceris, ac supereminens Principium, infundere digneris super intellectus mei tenebras, tuae radium claritatis, duplices. in quibus natus sum, a me demovens tenebras, peccatum scilicet, et ignorantiam. Tu, qui linguas infantium facis disertas, linguam meam erudias atque in labiis meis gratiam tuae benedictionis infundas. Da mihi intelligendi acumen, retinendi capacitatem, addiscendi modum et facilitatem, interpretandi subtilitatem loquendi gratiam copiosam. Ingressum instruas, progressum dirigas, egressum compleas: Tu qui es verus et homo, qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

CHRONICLE

At the Historical Congress in Brussels, a brief notice of which appeared in our last issue, Professor Pirenne in defining the task confronting the historian of today said:

This task is of a special character and of great difficulty; the historian must strive ever to be objective, he has not the right to consider only his own party, his own religion, his own country, above all he must endeavor to be critical and impartial. The catastrophe of the most recent years should serve the historian as a great seismic disturbance serves the geologist; it has laid before him problems heretofore unforeseen, it has presented facts which refute well-established theories, and it has upset certain scientific prejudices, especially that of race. No longer should we resort to race as an explanation of historical phenomena until we have exhausted all other explanations; races have long been mingled and it is with difficulty that we are able to distinguish them in modern nations; no longer can we consider the Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs from different points of view; the general development of the civilized nations follows a common law and if we introduce the factor of race into our explanations of this law we attempt to solve the unknown by the unknown. The problem of national individuality must be studied comparatively, the history of a people must be studied from the point of view of the history of humanity, as a part of a far greater whole; the local point of view is entirely inadequate. The ancient historians had some notion of the synthesis which we now find to be essential, but the last century, which has been called the century of history, has been in fact more learned than scientific; and the national point of view in history must now give way to one that is objective and impartial.

In the *American Historical Review*, vol. xxviii. No. 4, Dr. Waldo G. Leland discusses in a lengthy and interesting article the Acta of the Congress and offers a list of the papers submitted:

ORIENTAL AND ANCIENT HISTORY, Abbé Belpaire, Brussels, *Les Peuples du Centre de l'Asie d'après les Poètes Chinois de l'Époque des T'ang*; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, Ghent, *Les Upanishads et le Bouddhisme*; T. Homolle, Paris, *Remarques sur les Révolutions de Delphes à propos du Texte d'Aristote*, POLITEIA, V. 3; M. Parvan, Bucarest, *La Pénétration Hellénique et Hellénistique dans la Vallée du Danube*; F. Lot, Paris, *Le Caput Fiscal du Bas-Empire, son Étendue et sa Valeur Imposable*;

BYZANTINE STUDIES, N. Jorga, Bucarest, *La Romania Danubienne et les Barbares au VI^e Siècle*;

MEDIEVAL HISTORY, L. Halphen, Bordeaux, *Les Origines Asiatiques des Grandes Invasions*; J. Novak, Prague, *L'Idée de l'Empire Romain et la Pensée Politique Tchèque pendant l'Évolution de l'État*; H. Pirenne, Ghent, *Un Contraste Historique, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens*; Marc

Bloch, Strasbourg, *Qu'este qu'un Fief*; M. Handelsman, Warsaw, *Féodalité et Féodalisation dans l'Europe Occidentale*; T. F. Tout, Manchester, *Some Conflicting Tendencies in English Administrative History during the Fourteenth Century*; H. Prentout, Caen, *Les États de Normandie*;

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, J. Holland Rose, Cambridge, *The Struggle for the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century*; B. Dembinski, Warsaw, *Le Rôle des Italiens dans la Diplomatie à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*; F. de Crue, Geneva, *Necker, Mirabeau, et les Genevois de la Révolution*; A. Aulard, Paris, *L'État Actuel des Études sur la Révolution Française*; P. Sagnac, Paris, *Les Conceptions des Historiens sur l'Origine et l'Esprit de la Révolution Française*; Ed. Driault, Paris, *Les Études Napoléoniennes en France et hors de France*; C. K. Webster, University of Wales, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, and the Paris Conference, 1919—a Comparison and a Contrast*; H. W. V. Temperley, Cambridge, *The Congress and Conference System and its Breakdown*; P. Gronscky, Petrograd-Paris, *La Chute de la Monarchie en Russie en 1917*;

HISTORY OF COLONIES AND DISCOVERIES, Ch. B. de la Roncière, Paris, *L'Énigme du Premier Voyage de Circumnavigation Médiéval*; T. Simar, Brussels, *Une Conception Unitaire de l'Expansion Européenne*; H. E. Egerton, *The Study of Colonial History in the British Empire*;

RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, S. Reinach, Paris, *Survivances Européennes du Catharisme*; V. Novotny, Prague, *Les Origines du Mouvement Hussite en Bohême*; Miss Rose Graham, London, *The Influence of the Papal Schism on the English Province of the Order of Cluny in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

LEGAL HISTORY, P. Collinet, Paris, *Les Travaux des Professeurs de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth au V^e Siècle*; Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Oxford, *Les Maximes de l'Ancien Droit Coutumier Anglais*; J. van Kan, Leyden, *L'Idée de Codification à l'Époque de Louis XV.*; G. Espinas, Paris, *L'Évolution des Privilèges Urbains dans les Centres Principaux de la Flandre Française depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution*;

ECONOMIC HISTORY, Sir William Ashley, Birmingham, *The Historic Bread of the English People*; J. H. Clapham, Cambridge, *Irish Migration into Britain, 1775-1830*; G. Salviole, Naples, *Les Opérations de Banque à Naples au XIV^e Siècle*; E. Déprez, Rennes, *Les Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Guerre de Cent Ans*; Ch. Rist, Paris, *Illusion et Réalité dans l'Interprétation Économique des Guerres Modernes*; H. Pirenne, Ghent, *Liberté et Réglementation dans l'Histoire Économique*; G. Des Marez, Brussels, *L'Origine des Syndicats Ouvriers en Belgique*; H. de Sagher, Bruges, *Les Sources Statistiques de l'Histoire du Prix des Céréales et leur Méthode d'Édition*;

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION, L. Parmentier, Liège, *Euripide et la Propagande pendant la Guerre de la Peloponnèse*; Mrs. Charles Singer, London, *L'Alchimie, son Évolution jusqu'au Commencement de la Science de la Chimie*; H. Koht, Christiania, *Le Problème des Origines de la Renaissance*; L. Febvre, Strasbourg, *L'Idée Moderne de Domination*

Universelle; A. I. Carlyle, Oxford, *The Development of the Theory of the Authority of the Pope in Temporal Matters from the Ninth Century to the Thirteenth Century*; A. Lefranc, Paris, *Aperçu sur l'Histoire des Idées Rationalistes en France au XVI^e Siècle*;

HISTORY OF MEDICINE, Dr. Jeanselme, Paris, *La Psychose de l'Empereur Heraclius*; Dr. Angélique Panayotatou, Alexandria, *L'Hygiène et la Morale chez les Anciens Grecs*; Dr. Van Schevensteen, Antwerp, *Les Oculistes Ambulants dans les Provinces Belges pendant les XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles*;

HISTORY OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, C. Hofstede de Groot, the Hague, *Explications des Sujets Bibliques et Historiques dans l'Oeuvre de Rembrandt*; N. Jorga, Bucarest, *Les Origines de l'Art Populaire Roumain*; E. Closson, Brussels, *Instruments de Musique disparus*; H. Schetelig, *L'Industrie Néolithique de la Norvège*; P. Bosch Gimpera, Barcelona, *La Civilisation Ibérique*;

HISTORICAL METHOD AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES, H. Berr, Paris, *La Synthèse en Histoire*; Fr. Bujak, Lemberg, *Le Problème de la Synthèse en Histoire*; O. de Halecki, Warsaw, *L'Histoire de l'Europe Orientale, sa Division en Époques, son Milieu Géographique, et ses Problèmes Fondamentaux*; M. Lhéritier, Paris, *L'Histoire et l'Urbanisme*; H. Jenkinson, London, *The Present State of Palaeographical Studies in England*; V. Tourneur, Brussels, *Les Origines de la Médaille à la Renaissance*;

DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD DURING THE GREAT WAR, Camille Bloch, Paris, *La Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre*; Colonel Maltese, Rome, *Les Archives Militaires de la Guerre en Italie*; H. Nélis, Brussels, *Les Collections d'Archives de Guerre en Allemagne et en Hongrie*; J. Vannérus, Brussels, *Les Archives de la Guerre en Belgique*; J. Holub, Budapest, *Les Archives de la Guerre en Hongrie*;

ARCHIVES AND PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL TEXTS, J. Paczkowski, Warsaw, *La Remise des Archives en Connexion avec des Changements de Frontières entre États*; A. G. Little, Manchester, *Rules for the Editing of Historical Documents*; J. Cuvelier, *Des Nécessités Présentes dans le Domaine de la Conservation des Archives*.

Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., writing in *Blackfriars* (August) discusses the Anglo-Catholic Congress:

From Tuesday, July 10th, to Friday, July 13th, during a summer heat of unparalleled ferocity, the men and women who look upon themselves as the heirs of the Tractarians held a Congress in the Albert Hall. The things said and done by these successors of Froude, Keble and Newman give food for thought and prayer.

(1) The Congress, merely as a social and religious phenomenon, cannot be ignored, and should not be belittled. It is a social and religious fact of no little interest that, during a heat-spell which weltered our tropical visitors, one of the largest halls in the world was filled for even the less important meetings of a religious congress.

Moreover, this Congress was representative not of a Church, but only of a party within a Church. It was assuredly a religious phenomenon of significance that this section of a section of Christians could brave tropical heat for a religious idea. This is all the more interesting to us Roman Catholics, because, if we may believe our experts in organization we, the Roman Catholics of England and Wales, might undertake the task of filling the Albert Hall at general, but hardly at the sectional, meetings of any congress. We are therefore glad that *The Tablet* has set the note of commentary in these wise words of charity:

'Other pens as keen as scalpels will probe the weak places of the Congress; but we prefer to look at its strong points. Surely it is an occasion of thanksgiving that the largest, the most earnest, the most reverent, the most learned party in the Established Church is openly recanting at least ninety per cent, of of the traditional protests against Rome' (*The Tablet*, 14th July.).

(2) The significance of this Congress may best be measured by its heredity. It is, what it claims to be, the authentic child of the Oxford Movement. The Congress hand-book recorded that . . . 'the Saturday of Congress Week, July 14th, is the ninetieth anniversary of Keble's Assize Sermon on *National Apostasy*, which is generally considered to have been the beginning of the Oxford Movement.' The Oxford Movement was an attempt to save the State-Established National Church from Disestablishment by appealing away from the national to the Catholic Church. To be consistent and effective that appeal had to be not national, not congregational, not presbyterian, but Episcopal. From the beginning the Tractarian Movement was in theory and dogma, if not in practice, a frank appeal to the authority of the Episcopate constituted by Jesus Christ.

Not that the Episcopate could always command the obedience of the men within the movement. But when the Tractarians ventured to strain most of their principles by frankly disobeying their bishops, it was on the further principle that they were obeying the wider and more authoritative Episcopate of the Church Catholic. As a matter of fact, historians of the psychology of religious beliefs record that for the last ninety years these acts of disobedience to the national Episcopate, in obedience to the general or Catholic Episcopate, have been committed in order to re-invigorate the Church of England with doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome.

(3) But in 1920 the Lambeth Conference of 252 bishops of the Church of England had sanctioned the report of the sub-committees on re-union with the Latin Communion, containing the words, 'there can be no fulfilment of the Divine purpose in any scheme of re-union which does

¹ The Angle-Catholic Congress (Handbook). Preface: A Vision of the Future. N. P. Williams. Pp. 19.

not ultimately include the great Latin Church of the West."² The Anglo-Catholic party found themselves—if we may say so—invited to enter into some kind of relationship with that 'great Latin Church of the West,' from whose existing doctrine and practice they had so freely borrowed. Anglo-Catholics soon realised that the leading of the Lambeth Bishops could not be set aside even on a plea of *apostolic work*, except by implicitly repudiating their principle of Episcopacy and by a refusal to see that otherwise no apostolic work could be fruitful, because the Church, which is not ONE, cannot be APOSTOLIC.

(4) A significant incident is recorded in the following letter sent to the press:

Sir,—May I ask you to insert the following statement concerning the Anglo-Catholic Congress which is now being held in London? In the *Daily Telegraph* of July 5th this paragraph appeared: 'It is worth while remarking that at the request of Cardinal Bourne a box in the Albert Hall has been reserved for all sessions of the Congress for the use of His Eminence's representatives.'

When my attention was drawn to the matter I communicated immediately with the *Daily Telegraph* denying the truth of this statement and asking for its correction. It can only have come, through a process of exaggeration, from the simple fact that His Eminence, in response to our invitation, gave permission to one of his clergy to attend the Congress in order that the priest in question might have first-hand knowledge of its doings; but that he was to attend in an entirely unofficial capacity and in no way as a representative.—Yours, &c., ARTHUR MONTFORD, *Chairman of the Anglo-Catholic Congress Committee*.

(5) The preliminary message of the Bishop of Zanzibar, Chairman of the Congress, contained the following words: . . . 'We are not concerned with the shibboleths of Low Church, High Church, Broad Church, Liberal, Modernist, or even to the new *non-party* party. We stand or fall with Christ's Church, Catholic and Apostolic. And we wait patiently till the Holy Father and the Orthodox Patriarchs recognise us as their flock.'

This most explicit reference to *the Holy Father* was indicative that the Congress would attempt the task of giving some effect to the desires and recommendations of the Lambeth Bishops. But the action of the Congress went beyond the message of its Chairman. At the opening session in the Albert Hall, the Chairman asked the meeting to send messages to His Majesty, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Patriarch of Constantinople. Lastly, the Chairman, the Bishop of Zanzibar asked the meeting to entrust him with sending a message to the Holy Father. We record the (official?) account given in *The Church Times* (July 13th):

² Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, 1902. V., No. 8, Part III.

³ *The Church Times*, 29th June, p.768.

MESSAGE TO THE POPE (through the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster).
16,000 Anglo-Catholics in Congress assembled offer respectful greetings to the Holy Father, humbly praying that the day of peace may quickly break.

Those who were present at the vast meeting can witness to the applause that greeted and approved this message to the Holy Father.

For the moment we must content ourselves with the simple commentary already quoted from *The Tablet*. 'Surely it is an occasion of thanksgiving.' There is a sense in which this message of '16,000 Anglo-Catholics assembled in Congress' is an appeal to Rome. Pending that appeal to the heart of the Holy Father we must be, if not silent, at least 'prudent and watch in prayer.'

Percy Edward Newberry, an expert Egyptologist who has taken part in important discoveries in Egypt since 1890, when he was in charge of the archaeological Survey of Egypt of the Egypt Exploration Fund, is writing a book on *The Valley of the Kings*, which Jonathan Cape will publish in London and Doran in America. It will present a full history of the exploration of the royal tombs, extending over many years and culminating in the discovery of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen by the Lord Carnarvon expedition. The author was Professor of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool from 1906 to 1919, and was formerly on the staff of the Cairo Museum on Antiquities. He has written several books on subjects connected with Egypt and Egyptology and collaborated with Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in writing *Five Years' Exploration of Thebes*, in 1912. No date has yet been announced for the publication of his new book, but it will probably not appear until late in the Summer.

Tombs of the Kings of Judea for two hundred years after David, including that of Solomon, are expected to be revealed by explorations that an international group of archaeologists will begin shortly at Ophel Hill, in the southeastern part of Jerusalem, which it is declared will prove to be the real site of the "city of David."

The old wall and the remains of the original sanctuary of the Jews, with relics and inscriptions which will throw light on the pre-Hebrew as well as the early Hebrew civilization, are expected to be recovered by the scientists, notable among whom will be the Rev. Dr. Hugo Vincent, O.P., Professor of topography and archaeology at St. Stephen's College, the French Academy's archaeological school of the Holy Land. Father Vincent, who is regarded as one of the world's foremost archaeologists, recently completed a study of the tomb of Abraham in Hebron.

Excavations at Ophel were begun in 1870 and during recent years have been carried on by Father Vincent and by Raymond Weill, who before the war made important excavations for Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris. These excavations have yielded results sufficient to convince archaeologists that Ophel will prove a treasure trove of relics.

The American Archaeological Society of Palestine has been invited to join in the work of excavation which will be prosecuted by the British Palestine Exploration Fund and by the French. The British will tackle the north end of Ophel Hill and the French will continue work on the south end, where it was interrupted by the war.

According to scholars, the notion that the place now known as Mount Zion would be the original city of David, is no longer held, as it does not fulfill two conditions that led primitive people to choose locations for settlement—a spring and the natural defensive strength in a hill rising sheer above the spring.

The spring in the vicinity of Ophel is called the "Virgin's Fountain" and is said to be the "Gison" of the Old Testament. Ophel furthermore runs along a narrow ridge, similar to many fortified cities of Palestine, whereas the western hill presents an area that would require defensive resources beyond the means of the early Hebrews.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, of Paris, the Minister of Public Instruction raised to the dignity of officer of the Legion of Honor Rev. Father Scheil, who has been a knight of the Order for several years.

Father Scheil is sixty-four years old. He is a member of the Dominican Order, Master of Sacred Theology, and director of studies at the School of Higher Studies, as well as member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. He is the most famous specialist in studies pertaining to the history, arts and philology of the ancient peoples of the Orient, and has published numerous works on Assyro-Babylonian history and philology and on the code of laws of Hammurabi, who was king of Babylon toward the twenty-third century B. C.

Speaking of the Commencement exercises of Rochester University Baron de Cartier, the Belgian Ambassador stated, and brought evidence to prove that the first Colonists in New York and in the so-called Swedish settlements on the Delaware were Belgians. As reported in the *New York Times*, he said:

In the sixteenth century the nine provinces which now constitute the Kingdom of Belgium and the Provinces which now constitute the Kingdom of the Netherlands were all united under one dynasty. All of these Provinces, both Dutch and Belgian, were animated by somewhat the same spirit of independence, and instead of permitting themselves to lose their identity among the appanages of the great Empire of Charles V., they insisted upon and obtained recognition of a separate autonomous existence. They became known collectively as the Seventeen Provinces, the Low Countries, the Netherlands, or les Pays Bas. Both the Dutch and Belgian Provinces were, as you may say, very much in the same boat.

With the advent of Philip II, the liberties of the Low Countries became seriously endangered. Philip was both despotic and fanatical. He not only persecuted the Protestants, of whom we had a goodly number in our Belgian Provinces, but he disregarded our civic liberties and also en-

deavored to subordinate our commercial interests to those of Spain. The northeastern Provinces revolted and, under the leadership of William of Orange, set up the Dutch Republic, and many of the inhabitants of both the Flemish and Walloon Provinces of what is now Belgium left their homes and sought civil and religious freedom in other lands.

The majority of these émigrés were Protestants from our French-speaking Walloon Provinces, but there were also many liberty-loving Catholics and rich merchants from Antwerp and well-to-do burghers from the other commercial centres in Flanders. Some of these people went to England, but the majority of them emigrated to Holland and settled in such towns as Amsterdam and Leyden, where they were joined by the Huguenots from France and the Pilgrim Fathers from England.

You may ask what all this has to do with America. It is simply this: Those Belgian émigrés in Holland played an important part in the early settlement of the State of New York and of your great metropolis on Manhattan Island. This is an historic fact to which we Belgians may well be proud. But, in claiming it, we have no desire to claim to be 'the whole show.' We only hope that it will be remembered that the Belgians did their modest bit in the making of your great country.

Among the Flemish exiles in Holland one of the most prominent was William Usselinex, an important merchant from Antwerp who had settled at Amsterdam. It was Usselinex who first proposed the organization of the West India Company. It must be remembered that in those days 'West Indies' was a very vague term, which included nearly everything in the Western Hemisphere, and the objective of the proposed West India Company was to find the best available spots on the coasts of North and South America. The fruition of Usselinex's plan was delayed for many years, and it was not until June, 1623, that the company was ready for business. Among the subscribers and leading spirits in the enterprise were many of the Flemish and Walloon émigrés in Holland.

In the meantime a Dutch expedition under the English leader Henry Hudson had visited Manhattan Island and had explored the river as far as Albany, and several other adventurous traders had followed in his wake to traffic with the Indians, but no attempt had been made to establish a permanent colony in that part of America. The formation of the Dutch West India Company in 1623 marks the beginning of the movement towards the real settlement of Manhattan Island and the banks of the Hudson.

About the time of the grant of charter to this company, Jesse de Forest, a native of the city of Avesnes, then province of Hainault, who was one of the Belgian refugees at Leyden, conceived the idea of establishing a Walloon colony in the New World. He gathered together a company of French-speaking Walloons, chiefly from his native province of Hainault, and petitioned the British Government for permission to establish an autonomous colony in Virginia. Upon his petition being rejected, de Forest, who is the direct ancestor of that noted New York lawyer and philanthropist. Robert W. W. de Forest, approached the

newly formed West India Company, in which so many of his compatriots were already interested, and it was arranged that de Forest's Walloon colony should be sent to America under the auspices of that company.

The records of dates in the contemporary chronicles are somewhat confused, but it seems to be fairly well established that these colonists arrived at Manhattan Island in May, 1624. A contemporary Dutch historian, Nicholas van Wassenauer, writing under date of 1624, narrates that: 'The West India Company equipped in the Spring a vessel of 130 lasts (about 260 tons) called the *Nieu Nederlandt*, with a company of thirty families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. He mentions that the expeditions set out in March and arrived at the mouth of the Hudson in the beginning of May.

Thus the settlement of the largest city in your great country was begun by 'thirty families, mostly Walloons,' from one of the provinces of little Belgium. Let us not forget, however, that these Walloons came under the auspices of a Dutch-Belgian commercial company, and that the Dutch Government gave them protection in their new home as it had given them generous hospitality in Holland.

Subsequent expeditions brought more Belgian colonists and it seems that during the first few years of the colony the majority of the settlers were Flemings and Walloons, who sought civil and religious freedom in the new Land of Promise. Some settled on Manhattan, some established themselves as far north as Albany, others built their homes on Staten Island, on the west bank of the Hudson, and on Long Island. Some of the Walloons settled around what is now called Wallabout Bay, which in those days was called 'Waelbogh,' meaning 'Walloon Inlet,' and Flemish influence seems to be indicated in the selection of such names as Hoboken and Hellgate, both of which places derive their appellations from localities near Antwerp. Unfortunately, many of the records pertaining to early New York and to the antecedents of the colonists have been lost or dispersed. Many of the Flemish and Walloon colonists have been looked upon as Dutch on account of the fact that they had previously been domiciled in Holland.

Pierre Minuit, the first Governor of the colony, had been a resident of Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves, but it is claimed by careful historians, including my fellow-countryman, Baron de Borchgrave, that Minuit was, in reality, the scion of a Flemish family which had taken refuge at Wesel, whither also many French Huguenots had fled. It was Minuit who purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626, at the 'bargain price' of 60 gulden, or about \$26 in 'real money.'

The first 'koopman' or secretary of the colony was also a Belgian—a Walloon named Isaac de Rasieres. Among other Belgians who occupied high positions in the colony should also be mentioned Jean Mousnier de la Montagne, son-in-law of Jessé de Forest, who as Governor of Fort Orange presided over the vast domain around Albany. The Swedish settlements on the Delaware were also due to the initiative of the Belgians.

If you will look at the early maps of America you will find that the northern portion is roughly divided into three parts: New France, covering territory north of the St. Lawrence; New England, comprising approximately what are now the New England States, and New Belgium, or 'Nieu Nederlandt,' stretching from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod and extending northward to the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. The early official Seal of the Colony bears the inscription 'Sigillum Novi Belgii,' and the present city of New York was known as 'New Amsterdam in New Belgium.' We Belgians are proud to have contributed a few small 'Belgian blocks' to the foundation of your country.

Among early Belgian visitors to America was Father Hennepin, born at Ath, in the Province of Hainault, who was one of the early explorers of this part of the country as well as of the Middle West and the Valley of the Mississippi. I believe that he was the first European to see Niagara Falls. Many of our Belgian missionaries have helped to blaze the trail in your great Northwest and in Alaska. Among them I may mention Archbishop Segbers, who was called 'the Apostle of Alaska,' Father de Smet, who did important work among the Indian tribes in the West, and Father Croquet, known as the 'Saint of Oregon,' who was an uncle of Cardinal Mercier.

Dr. T. Leslie Shear of Princeton who has been engaged in excavations at Sardis in a report made to the Archetypical Institute of America states that numerous objects found during the excavations in the Ancient Capital of Lydia have been stolen. He says:

The attention of archaeologists is directed to this theft and an earnest request is made on the part of the Sardis expedition that any knowledge of the whereabouts of these antiquities be communicated to some member of the organization.

The missing objects vary in age from about 1,500 years to 2,700 years. Some of the Christian and Greek remains have been maliciously smashed from time to time. The Turkish foreman and laborers were absolutely honest and among the finest workmen in the world, according to Dr. Shear, so that the plundering was probably done by professional purchasers and exporters of antiquities, who flourish in Asia Minor and elsewhere in spite of the laws against sending objects of this kind out of the countries where they were found. Speaking of the situation when the expedition sent by the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis arrived there last year, Dr. Shear said:

In the process of clearing up the house it became apparent that many objects had been stolen, in addition to the antiquities that had been injured and broken, of which pieces were still scattered about. The entire collection of complete Lydian vases was missing, as well as the large series of Greek and Roman lamps.

They had been evidently carefully packed and removed by the plunderers, as no shreds or broken pieces were scattered on the ground. Included among the missing objects are several marble pieces of Lydian

architecture of unusual archaeological value, a marble head of the Scopas type, and—special cause for regret—the beautifully executed marble horse's head, found at the very end of the season of 1914.

It seems probable that these objects were carried far afield for, although over 2,000 pieces were missing, persistent inquiry failed to reveal any evidence that a single one had reached the hands of collectors or dealers in Smyrna. Fortunately the scientific record of these objects is in most cases complete and all, with the exception of the lamp, are now in process of publication.

When peace is restored in this part of the world, Turkish permission obtained for further excavations and money raised by the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, the new excavations will probably proceed on the remains of a great hill which was once the Acropolis of Sardis. This hill has been shaken by earthquakes so that little remains of what existed there during the Lydian and Greek periods, but prospecting indicated that some of the original surface of the hill remains intact.

It has always been a question open to discussion, Dr. Shear said in his report, whether the Acropolis of Sardis, as it appears today, has any ground surface that antedates the period of the great earthquake, 17 A.D. Some trials made during the present campaign yielded interesting information on this subject, for at the southeastern end, near where the present ascent of the Acropolis leads through a breach in the walls, several large pits that were sunk passed through Byzantine and Roman remains to reach finally abundant deposits of Lydian pottery, in one case at a depth of 3.55 meters below the present ground surface. This investigation was not pursued further after the achievement of its purpose, which was, to determine the desirability of making extensive excavations at this point, in the hope of recovering remains of the earliest settlement which by tradition and practice should have been on the Acropolis.

One of the most remarkable finds of last year, next to that of the coins of Croesus, was a tomb of the Christian period, according to Dr. Shear, who described it as follows:

Artistically the most interesting of the discoveries dating from the Roman age is a large vaulted chamber tomb that was uncovered on the southern slope of the hillock. Entrance to this tomb was through a rectangular opening in the roof at the eastern end which, when discovered, was closed by a single marble slab. Through the hole one descended by three corbel steps to the floor. The chamber was 2.68 meters long and 2.43 wide.

The walls were covered with a thick plaster on which frescoes were painted in brilliant colors. On each side wall is a stately peacock with a greenish-blue body, red wing, red legs and long, sweeping tail, in which the eyes are distinctly marked. The peacock on the south wall is facing to the east, but on the north wall he faces west, with his head turned backward. In the back-ground is a smaller bird of the same kind, perhaps made small for reasons of perspective. The wall is covered with

scattered flowers, like the tulip, and with conventional garlands, painted red, in the midst of which are two baskets containing fruit.

After describing a tomb of later date, which had been found several years ago on this site, Dr. Shear continued:

The painting of the present tomb, however, is executed with greater freedom and freshness, giving the impression of belonging to an earlier period than does the tomb previously discovered. The impression is confirmed by the absence of the fourth century Constantinian monogram which occurs in the other example and by evidence afforded by the lamps found in the tomb.

Sardis, or Sardes is probably the ancient Hyde of Homer (*Iliad* II, 844; XX, 385). The name Sardes seems to have been derived from the Shardani, a people mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as inhabiting that region. At an early period Sardis was the capital of the Lydians. Its last king, the celebrated Croesus was dethroned by Cyrus. It was captured by Alexander the Great in 334 B. C. In 190 B. C. it was incorporated with the Kingdom of Pergamus, then with the Roman Empire, becoming the capital of the Province of Lydia. The famous river Pactolus flowed through its *agora*, or forum.

In the Apocalypse (III, 1-3) a letter is written to the Church of Sardis by St. John, who utters reproaches against it and its bishop. Among its martyrs are mentioned the priest Therapon. Among its bishops were St. Meliton, St. Euthymus, and Andronicus. As the religious metropolis of Lydia, Sardis ranked sixth in the hierarchy.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the town, which was still very populous was destroyed by the Turks. In 1369 it ceased to exist, and Philadelphia replaced it as metropolis (Waechter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in XIV Jahrhundert*, 44-46). At present, under the Turkish name of Sart, it is but a miserable Turkish village in the Sandjak of Saroukhan, and the vilayet of Smyrna.

Dr. George B. Gordon, director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania announces that the excavation of Ur in Mesopotamia will continue as long as any important discoveries are being made.

The work is being done by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, together with the British Museum. The university is financing its party from the gifts of individuals, while the British Museum is appropriating from its treasury for this work.

The old temple, which belongs to 3,800 B. C., according to one system of dating, and several hundred years earlier by another, is the temple of the Babylonian god Sin, the moon-god. Ur was the sacred city of moon-worship. It was probably one of the earliest seats of learning about the motions of the sun, moon and stars, and one of the places where the art of astrology was founded. Ur is the city of the Chaldeans in the Bible, and the Chaldeans for many thousands of years held the reputation of being the world's leading astrologers.

Although the excavations at Ur have gone back apparently to a date somewhere in the fifth millenium B. C., they have not apparently touched bottom or reached the earliest level of civilization in Mesopotamia.

"There may be civilization at a still lower level than that represented by this temple wall," said Dr. Gordon. "Nothing of earlier date than that given for this building has so far been found. But we haven't got back to the beginnings of civilization along the Tigris and Euphrates.

"Much more work has been done in Egypt, and civilization has been traced there to its beginning. It is well established now that civilization goes back earlier in Mesopotamia than in Egypt. We do not know how far it does go back in Mesopotamia. That is one of the chief reasons for our work, to find out, if possible, when civilization did start there."

Ur is the city of Abraham, according to the Bible, but his departure from the city did not apparently take place until Ur was an old community, possibly ten times as old as New York is today. An effort has been made by archaeologists to connect the early Jewish immigrants from Ur with the worship of the moon-god Sin, while it has been conjectured that Mount Sinai was named originally after this early pagan deity.

Among the oldest known cities, Ur is about on an equal footing, as far as our knowledge goes, with the Cities of Eridu and Nippur in the same part of the earth, according to Sir Frederick Kenyon, director of the British Museum, who discussed the question with a *Times* reporter just before his return to Europe. Sir Frederick then said that the work at Ur showed that the place was a magnificent "fishing ground" for archaeologists, but that it was too early to presume that any very sensational discoveries were going to be made there.

Ur cannot be older than 9,000 years, according to certain geographical calculations based on the observed rate at which the Tigris and Euphrates fill up the head of the Persian Gulf. Every year the sediment deposited by these rivers builds up acres of solid ground and keeps gradually extending Mesopotamia southward. The land on which Ur was constructed was itself built by the Euphrates something like 9,000 years ago, according to this theory.

If Ur was originally settled because it was situated on the gulf, its foundation would have been something like 7,000 B. C., and according to some Assyriologists, the Mesopotamia civilization may extend to fully so early a period. At 4,000 B. C. the Sumerian language had changed from picture-writing to the cuneiform or wedge-shaped writing, which was made on wet clay tablets with a stylus. The process of change from hieroglyphic to the swifter cuneiform may have required thousands of years.

Even if proof of civilization in Mesopotamia is carried back to 7,000 B. C., the place of origin of language and civilization will not have been conclusively proved. The Sumerians, who were apparently the first to form a written language, are believed to have developed considerable civilization in some other part of the world before they moved into the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. One reason which has been put

forward for this theory is the opinion that the Sumerians at one time lived where there were no lions. That these beasts were a novelty to the Sumerians is considered proved by some philologists because the Sumerians had no original word for lions, but called them by a word which means "big dogs."

Nippur, which was mentioned by Sir Frederick Kenyon as a city possibly as old as Ur, is noted in archaeological and historical research for the great haul of tablets which was made there by the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania. Something like 40,000 written clay tablets, some of them among the earliest known, were found by excavators when they uncovered a great library near the temple at Nippur.

There is hope that tablets of similar importance may be found at Ur. Nearly all early sites in Mesopotamia have yielded rich results in tablets, because the Babylonians of all periods were essentially a writing people. The ability to write was widely diffused, and all contracts, agreements and accounts were committed to writing. One of the most important tablets that recently came to light was apparently the exercise of a schoolboy learning to write. He had written in unbaked clay some 4,000 years ago a copy of an early Babylonian legend, which was read by Dr. Edward Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania as the original story of man's being cast out from the Garden of Eden.

The adoption by Greece of the Gregorian calendar accompanied by the declarations made by the Greek Foreign Minister, Apostolos Alexandris, to a correspondent of the *Mondo* newspaper, have caused much interest. The Minister is quoted as saying that the advice given by the Government to the Greek Church and especially to the Patriarchate of Constantinople to adopt the same calendar as the Catholic Church was with a view "to eliminate all residues of ancient quarrels and discussions between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, because any measure of reunion between the two Churches could only result in immense good for Christendom. The Government hoped that this would prove to be only a beginning, and that agreement might follow on other subjects which, without any dogmatic basis, keep the two Churches separated."

The latest accession to our exchange list is the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* which was established in 1921. In its "Introductory" it outlines its scope and states that its object is to render accessible to students of history the knowledge which "accumulates at a focus of historical investigation and discussion like the Institute." The function of the *Bulletin* is primarily, if not exclusively, to provide a record of the work done at the Institute itself, and of the various activities, detailed in the first Annual Report, which it has called into existence, stimulated, or provided with a home and an executive machinery. These activities have been voluntary and co-operative to an extent which renders most of the contents of the *Bulletin* necessarily anonymous. Occasionally a specific committee has been appointed and it is possible to

affix the names of its members to the work they have produced, and some contributions will be individual. But, taken as a whole, the *Bulletin* is the outcome of suggestions, discussions, and research in which scores of historians have participated to an extent that puts any distribution of credit or responsibility out of the question. Almost every student working at the Institute contributes something in the way of raising or settling problems, and of correcting or adding to its corporate knowledge of historical sources and methods.

This limitation of scope helps to avert competition with existing historical reviews. It would be of doubtful advantage to historical learning if each university attempted to establish an historical review of its own, and it is no part of the objects of the *Bulletin* to publish work which already receives the hospitality of print elsewhere. It is not therefore proposed to include in the *Bulletin* reviews of historical works, though attention may be directed to the publication of catalogues of MSS., of lists and indexes of the Public Record Office, of reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, and of calendars and collections of documents; for the concern of the Institute is with the sources of history rather than with the comment upon them. Similarly it is not proposed to include historical articles except such as deal with the methods and means of historical research. It is hoped, however, to publish in the *Bulletin*, as occasion serves, articles on British and foreign archives, particularly on categories of MSS. which have not yet been indexed, catalogued, or calendared.

Just as the Institute exists for the purpose of promoting historical research which would not otherwise be prosecuted so effectively or at all, so the *Bulletin* has been established to secure publicity for additions to historical knowledge and to means of knowing which would not otherwise find their way into print; and these additions are considerable in their importance and varied in their character. There has, for instance, hitherto been no means of systematically collecting, recording, and publishing the masses of corrigenda and addenda which accumulate, with the progress of historical scholarship, round national works of reference such as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *New English Dictionary*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and students who naturally rely upon those standard authorities are constantly being misled into repeating statements that have been corrected in private or in isolated publications. Those works are too vast to permit of rapid or frequent re-editing. There are also great collections of historical materials, like Rymer's *Fœdera*, the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, and the *Journals of the Lords and Commons*, which were edited from one to two centuries ago, are not likely to be re-edited for another generation or century, yet contain numberless and, from the point of view of modern historical scholarship, flagrant imperfections. A periodical which sets out, however tentatively and imperfectly, to collect and indicate, if not to publish *in extenso*, the accumulating corrigenda to these repertoires, should fill a void in the apparatus of historical research and render some service to historians.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919, by Philip Alexander Bruce. New York. Macmillan. 1921-1922. 5 vols. xiv, 376; 395; 476; 376; 477.

This monumental history of the University of Virginia covers with elaborate detail the foundation of the school and its century of growth. Few universities, even the greatest and most historic, can boast of such a chronicle as Dr. Bruce has written, nor among their alumni find so able and conscientious a scholar for historiographer. It is doubtful if any man knows the old Commonwealth of Virginia so well as the author of the *Economic, Institutional and Social Histories of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, *Plantation Negro as a Freeman*, *Rise of the New South*, and *A Life of Robert E. Lee*. And in the present work, Dr. Bruce gives definite evidence of this background, for he treats the University as an institution of culture about which much of the state's history centered. He sees its influence over the whole South and how it reflected the social, economic and cultural life of the Southland. It is this setting which gives the volumes their appeal and establishes their historical value for a wide body of students. A writer of less grasp and vision would have written an annal of interest to the alumni, and the University would have been limited to Charlottesville.

The social and economic historians will read sections with profit; writers on the history of American education will use the volumes as a source; church historians will find footnote material; genealogists will revel in the names of the first families, and alumni will glory in their alma mater. Critics may complain that many a chapter is filled with minutiae of local interest or passing value, but they should note that the volumes are so organized that dreary pages of facts, statistics, faculty rulings and the like can be skipped over with ease. They may suggest that an abridgement would be more serviceable and in its wider circulation would redound to the greater glory of the school. At all events, they must admit that it is well written and for the most part highly readable.

The first volume deals largely with Jefferson, affording the best available study of his theories on classical and scientific education, his labors to promote educational reform and democratic, public instruction, and his successful campaign against the state church and intolerance of every stamp. Jefferson becomes a living man of manifold interests. He is no longer the statesman and politician solely, but a classical and English scholar, a philosopher, a student of the law, a violinist of ability, and an architect who left his imprint on the state capitol, White House, college buildings, and his famous Monticello home. Jefferson's library is opened to the public. The real Jefferson is at last made known.

Narrow and righteously bitter in his hatred of Federalism as a system of politics and theocracy, Jefferson ever fought for true democracy and human liberty. The Declaration of Independence was followed by the Toleration Act, and the latter just as logically by educational reform and the establishment of the University of Virginia. To guard liberty, he would educate the masses, not solely the sons of planters, and erect a state university as a capstone for the projected primary schools, which incidentally did not materialize until 1865.

Popular education, Jefferson considered an insurance against the rise of a despot, declaring in 1819 that: "As the means of giving a wholesome direction to public opinion; it was the safest guide and guardian of public morals and public welfare; it was the arbitress in every age of the happiness or wretchedness of a community." Uncompromising in his hostility to privilege and unwavering in his reliance on a well-informed electorate, he worried lest southern youths, and thereby southern liberties and Republicanism, would succumb before the Federalist teachings of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. Like all contemporary democrats, stout in their Revolutionary principles, he felt that the chief universities, including Columbia, Pennsylvania, and William and Mary, whether Anglican, Unitarian or Congregational, were stubborn in their Federalism and royal leanings. This was not as his political opponents charged on account of his irreligious tendencies, but because he believed in a practical democracy and a sovereign, educated people.

Dr. Bruce denies that Jefferson was an atheist and doubts if he could be described as a deist. Pondering over his New England enemies, Jefferson at one time arraigned the Presbyterian minister as the most culpable foe of liberty, writing: "The most intolerant of all sects, the most tyrannical and ambitious, ready at the word of the lawgiver to put the torch to the pile. They pant to re-establish by law the Holy Inquisition." Again concerning his own belief, he stated: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men. I have never attempted to make a convert or wished to change another's creed. I inquire after no man's religion, and I trouble none with mine."

William and Mary College, he considered as a "tyranny over the minds of men," for it had long been an Anglican stronghold, frequently torn by heresy controversies, and was managed by a faculty and board of visitors who had to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. It was virtually a seminary, furnishing most of the ministers to the established church, since the English dioceses and universities were no longer able to unload the unfit on the establishment in America. Dissenters had long opposed William and Mary College, but were without leadership until Jefferson as governor of the state abolished the chair of theology in 1779 and secularized the curriculum. Branded an atheist, Jefferson won the hostility of Episcopalian divines quite as he was to incur the hatred of New England political-Puritanism two decades later. Yet the college remained Episcopalian in tone, or at least was so considered by the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists of the frontier regions. Hence, the political movement continued for a popular unsectarian school; and Jefferson was the natural leader.

The long discussion of Jefferson and his ideals cannot be considered a digression, for, as Dr. Bruce indicated, he was to leave his lasting impress on the new institution. Of the University of Virginia, he was the founder, not in the sense of a Stanford or Rockefeller, but in that of a father who served as a promoter, rector, architect, supervisor of construction, framer of its articles of government, and friendly counsellor of its faculty in whose selection he was closely concerned. His only

selfishness appeared in the selection of the site in the beautiful valley over which he could gaze from his Monticello study.

Subscriptions were slowly forthcoming with a thousand dollar maximum, for 1819 was not a prosperous year in the Old South. State aid was more niggard, though Jefferson with a mid-nineteenth century vision had a state university in mind. However, by 1825 the buildings were ready for occupancy, and thanks to Jefferson's skill, the historian Tichnor could describe them as architecturally superior to any in New England. In our own day, Stamford White expressed approval. The cornerstone had been laid in the presence of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe in itself an auspicious inauguration.

Buildings alone do not make a university as the founder was aware, but obtaining a faculty in America of 1825 was a vital matter. At one time, he half favored the removal of the University of Geneva to Virginia. Again, he was desirous of obtaining Dr. Thomas Cooper whose candidacy was defeated with arguments that he was an atheist, an intimate of Dr. Priestley, and a radical whom Federalist upholders of sane government had to imprison for his writings. Nathaniel Bowditch the mathematician and George Ticknor were approached, but both refused. The latter was regarded as one of the most accomplished and travelled men in the states with a splendid training in the German universities. But even the then fabulous salary of \$2500 and accommodations would not draw him from Massachusetts. Chancellor Kent also refused to be tempted. A Greek professor of Glasgow at a salary of 1500 guineas was an impossible luxury. The outcome was the call of younger men mostly from abroad. Criticism followed by nativism was the doctrine of the day, yet to obtain an American faculty, Jefferson, Madison, Coke, Breckenridge, and Cabell, the University Visitors, cast aside their New England prejudices.

The *Connecticut Journal* made unpleasant remarks concerning the faculty of six foreign and two American scholars, venturing that there was no more need of going outside of New England, or at least America. for men than for brick. The *Philadelphia Gazette* urged that in Philadelphia a better faculty could have been obtained. An occasional journal saw an advantage in importing young scholars. But such men refused to come

unless they were guarded against uniformity decrees and intolerant sectarianism; George Long of Cambridge agreeing on his part to discuss nothing of a sectarian nature.

Dr. Bruce at great length describes the faculty and the training of its individual members. Professor Tucker, a Virginian, sacrificed a Congressional career to accept a chair. Patton Emmet, a nephew of the patriot, Dublin born, but of long residence in America, proved a cultured man as well as an excellent chemist and mathematician. Interesting enough, his successor Henry Rogers was also an Irishman of genius. Virginia divines looked upon the school as a centre of deism, founded to spread French infidelity, and attacked it in consequence. Jefferson's non-sectarian school, when typhoid stricken in 1829, was thought subjected to a heavenly visitation by these same fanatics.

The library, too they could criticize, for its lack of all but strictly unsectarian religious works; and no vulnerable point was overlooked. Jefferson's own library of 7000 volumes, which he believed "the best chosen collection probably in America," unfortunately did not fall to the college, but was sold to Congress and private booksellers to pay off debts. From Dr. Bruce's bibliographical material one learns what cultured southerners were reading a century ago.

Interesting, but too detailed, is the account of student life, the lack of religious belief, the failure of discipline, dissipation and drinking, duelling, pranks, outbreaks, and physical assaults on professors. Military drill, which good Republicans abhorred, was voluntary, but broad-sword play, fencing, quarter-staff sparring, boxing, and gymnastics were encouraged. Student regulations, dormitory rules, and faculty fees and salaries are given much space. About 1835, salaries averaged about \$2000 with a house, varying because of the fee system from \$1100 to \$3200, depending on the popularity of the class rather than the scholarship of the professor. Student expenses of 1830 averaged about \$500 per year with a possible minimum of \$218. Virginia was an aristocratic school, it would seem in comparison with New England colleges. The enrollment of 123 students in 1825 by 1841 had risen only to 170, so slow

was the growth. The elective system and the progress of the various departments are also considered with minute detail.

The third volume continues the story from about 1850 to the end of the war. Moderation of discipline, reform of the curriculum, the introduction of the honor system, and the beginning of the Young Men's Christian Association are among the chief topics. Virginia in 1858 had probably the first college branch of that association. The first minister on the faculty had been appointed in 1845, Jefferson's memory apparently fading. A badly needed temperance society, established in 1842, had a precarious existence. Yet churchmen were hostile and declared violently against the irreligion of the school and fought state aid. A student had been killed in a curious riot, and it must be admitted that, "The protracted riot of 1845, coupled with the murder of Professor Davis, struck an almost fatal blow at the moral prestige of the University and inflicted grave damage on its material prosperity."

Numbers increased, as the hatred between sections brought southern youths from Yale and Princeton. This was especially true of men from the gulf states. In 1855, Yale had 619 students, Harvard 669, while the University of Virginia enrolled 558. Faculty salaries were again on the fee basis with \$2250 as a maximum net compensation.

The Americanism of the faculty continued to be a mark for attack. The famous Greek scholar, Basil Gildersleeve, whom the author features, did not escape criticism because of his German training. J. J. Sylvester, a Jew from Cambridge, was made so ill at ease that he resigned; Schele de Vere, a Swedish scholar of Prussian allegiance, was likewise a marked man. Professor Kraitsir in describing the opposition to Mr. Sylvester declared "that he too was the target of the same illiberal hostility because he was a Hungarian, and, perhaps also because he was a Catholic." Even the director of the gymnasium, J. E. D'Alfonce, later an officer in the northern army, bore a foreign name as overly zealous nativists observed.

The University in the Civil War is well treated and in a spirit of detachment which is remarkable as an evidence of historical mindedness. Sympathies were strongly southern, but not secessionist until the state went out of the union. The

faculty were extreme but cautious. In 1858, the University refused to collaborate with Yale in the publication of an undergraduate journal. Student military companies were formed, scholars from the far south were dropping out as their states seceded, then Virginia followed the sister states, and the University became an armed camp. About 2481 alumni, over half officers, served in the war, at least 170 falling in action. Nominally the school remained open, but after 1862 it was essentially a hospital.

The fourth volume covers the period from 1865 to 1895. Reconstruction days followed by the panic of 1873 retarded its advance, but the later years were prosperous and full of growth. The fee system of salaries with a range from \$767 to \$5000 was again changed so that a \$2000 minimum became the standard. The library was improved and kept open ten hours a day. Co-education was long under violent discussion, until in 1892 a compromise permitted women to apply for University examinations under certain conditions. A large section is given to fraternities, clubs, student publications, athletics, the honor system, the Y. M. C. A., and religious statistics. As late as 1894, it is interesting to note, the production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* nearly caused a riot. In this thirty year period, 11,588 students were connected with the college, an average of over 375 a year. Figures of Catholic attendance may be of interest: 1869, two students; 1875, five; 1876, thirteen; 1900, eleven; and in 1903, in an enrollment of 366, only seventeen.

The fifth and concluding volume continues the work to 1919 with the same scholarly accuracy, careful compilation of bibliographical material, and tedious wealth of detail. A considerable portion recounts the movement to replace Jefferson's democratic organization of visitors and chairman of the faculty with a president endowed with the usual extensive powers of administration. After a long consideration of various candidates, we are told of the election of Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, president of Tulane, with account of his antecedents, career, educational views and inauguration. Under his direction, the University increased its usefulness to the state without becoming an organ of the state, like the University of Wisconsin. Reorganization, the co-educational controversy, the work of the various schools academic and professional, graduate degrees,

faculty appointments, salaries, endowment campaign, library accessions, the Stokes' Fellowship for study of the negro, are all discussed with elaborate care and conservatism. The foundation of Thomas Nelson Page lectureship is of interest, bringing to Virginia such lecturers as Taft, Bryce, Lounsbury, A. C. Coolidge, and Eliot. Interesting incidents of Professor A. C. Smith's experiences in Germany as Roosevelt exchange professor are recounted.

Student life religious, cultural, scholastic and athletic comprises a large portion of the volume. Statistics of doubtful value show the number of professed Christians and of Y. M. C. A. men relative to the total enrollment in comparison to Virginia. Religious figures are also given for 1916-17, when out of about 1100 students, thirty-seven were Catholics. The lack of interest in college preaching, the refusal of invited ministers to preach to empty benches, resulted in the change from a regular chaplain to an invited minister, that is, a return to Jeffersonianism.

The sections on the alumni will prove of interest and of lasting value for Virginia has a great roll. The number of Protestant bishops and ministers, jurists, lawyers, physicians, diplomats, governors, professors, senators, representatives and generals is quite endless. R. M. T. Hunter, Robert Dabny, author of *A Life of Andrew Jackson*, Crawford Toy, the Semitic scholar, John S. Wise, Edgar Allen Poe, Robert Toombs, W. B. Preston, Senators Martin, Bailey, Culbertson, Underwood, and Williams, John Bassett Moore, William P. Trent, Thomas Gregory, J. C. McReynolds, and Woodrow Wilson are outstanding names. Alumni like Thomas Nelson Page, Colonel Mosby, and faculty members are authors of noteworthy books.

A long chapter treats of the university in the Great War, the worthy part played by her sons in civil and military capacities, with some account of her heroic dead of whom James R. McConnell, aviator and diarist, well serves as an example. It is a fine commentary on nationalism, the death of sectionalism and the passing away of the bitterness of Reconstruction.

Dr. Bruce has written a great chronicle, and the reader will agree that in a *Century of the University of Virginia*, he had a great theme.

R. J. P.

Curious Punishments of Bygone Days. Pp. 149; **Old Time Gardens.** Pp. 489; **Sun Dials and Roses of Yesterday.** Pp. 461; **Stage-Coach and Tavern Days.** Pp. 449; **Home Life in Colonial Days,** Pp. 470; and **Child Life in Colonial Days** Pp. 418. All revised or newly set forth by Alice Morse Earle. New York: Macmillan Company, 1922.

Curious Punishments of Bygone Days is indeed a curious volume describing the punishments and machines of torment used in the olden days in England and Colonial America. It does not touch on punishments prior to the seventeenth century, but it is well to remember that the barbarous code lasted into the nineteenth. At times, Mrs. Earle, who has ransacked court records, diaries, and newspapers for her materials, evokes sympathy for the poor culprits, indignation at their rigorous punishments, or even amusement at the ingenious attempts of godly men to enforce virtue by pillorying persons of light carriage and unseemly behavior.

The bilboes of the ship's deck known in the days of Hakluyt gave way in the colonies to the stocks which could be built of timber and therefore were cheaper than the iron leg cuffs. And the stocks were as familiar as the whipping post in the colonial New England towns if not throughout all the colonies. The ducking stool proved as effective to quiet scolds and gossips in the new world as in Old England. The pillory or neck-stretch held terrors for all wrong-doers, dissenters and Quakers; and many of its victims were men of note but of independent views. Books were burned by the hangman; and authors were pilloried or mutilated by having an ear amputated, or a nose or cheek slit. The wearing of a scarlet letter indicating the offense was as humiliating but not as painful or permanent as branding. Branks and gags or scolds' bridles were not infrequently resorted to in England, but apparently Winthrop and Carver failed to bring them to America. Military discipline was enforced by inhuman punishments, well forgotten. Public penance and open confession were an objectionable feature of Puritan services which it is hard to comprehend. These are the subjects which Mrs. Earle has investigated and described in this unique compilation.

Old Time Gardens is a beautiful book, teeming with illustrations from photographs which must have been taken at a much later period or from drawings, or possibly from descriptions left by the owners..of the wonderful gardens. It is worthy of an olden gift book, which would please anyone of artistic inclinations, any lover of herbs, flowers, gardening and colonial homes. A child might read many history texts and never surmise that around Germantown, or old New York were splendid country seats as well as in the South. He might never think of the beauties of Quincy, Mount Vernon, the Dutch towns of Long Island, of Seward's walks, of Longfellow's Craigie House, of the harsh Puritan's love of the outdoors, and of the bowers, borders and sundials of the southern plantations. Yet such information is more than of passing interest; it aids in a correct appreciation of our early colonial and national life.

Sun Dials and Roses of Yesterday was originally written to satisfy enquirers who were interested in the subject as presented in the last chapter of the previous volume. The subject is fully treated, the sentiment attached to dials, classification, construction designs, pedestals, mottoes, emblems, and use as memorials. Lavish are the illustrations of dials of English, American, Scottish and German make, of curious design and of historic interest.

Stage Coach and Tavern Days is another volume which will afford suitable supplementary reading for a high school student. An introductory chapter describes the Puritan ordinary or inn, the enforced regulations against drunkenness which was rare in the case of women, the licensing of such public houses, and a suggestion as to their number and English names—"Green Dragon", "Anchor and Castle", and the like. In 1675, Mather estimated that every other house sold flip, but in his opposition he exaggerated. Judge Sewall, in 1714 when Boston had a population of 10,000, counted thirty-four innkeepers, of whom twelve were women, forty-one retailers of liquor of whom seventeen were women, besides a large number of victuallers and hard cider sellers. In 1648 every fourth house in New York was a tap-house. Of drinking there was enough, but of disorder there

was little, for the stocks were ever a warning. Ordinaries and taverns were usually near churches, and as churches were unheated the warmth of the inn attracted the congregation between services.

"Old Time Taverns" depicts the more elaborate caravan-series like the "Indian Queen" at Bladensburg, or the "City Tavern" in New York. Coffee houses appeared early in the eighteenth century, becoming quite famous as in England as trading centres and social gathering places.

Interesting chapters consider tavern fare and ways, liquors, and tavern signs, with an infinite number of illustrations. Wines and brandies for the well-to-do, "kill-devil" or Barbadoes rum for the poor, whom the Reverend Increase Matter complained could be made drunk at a penny a head. "The Tavern in the War" makes clear their importance as revolutionary centres, as rendezvous for the Sons of Liberty. Mrs. Earle may be condemned by present day critics for venturing to suggest such human traits in the Lexington minutemen. Yet, Daniel Webster could describe the "Green Dragon Inn" of Joseph Warren, Paul Revere and Sam Adams as the headquarters of the Revolution.

The latter chapters describe the ways and means of transportation, the Indian path to the turnpike, chain bridges, pack-horses, conestoga wagons, stage-coaches, omnibus, and sleighs. The dangers of travel and tavern ghosts give a picturesque touch. The Mohawk trail and the National Pike with Mordecai Cochran and his Irish brigade of a thousand laborers become real. The paragraph on "shift-marriages" should be censored for younger pupils.

Home Life in Colonial Days. Here we have a description of the temporary sod houses and caves of the first settlers, the log-cabin of the poor, and finally the mansions of the eighteenth century aristocrats—Mount Vernon, the Harrison mansions at Lower and Upper Brandon, Sabin Hall of the Carters, Westover of the Byrds, Hancock House in Boston, Hooper home at Danvers, and Wentworth's New Hampshire establishment. Chapters deal with methods of lighting from pine tar knots to whale oil, firesides and kitchen utensils, serving meals, food from sea

and forest, Indian corn and grist mills, cultivated vegetables, meat and drinks, flax culture and domestic spinning, making of homespun, jack-knife industries, and labor of women and children. Sketches (which are repeated in other volumes) of travel, transportation and inns, Sunday worship, colonial neighborliness, and olden flower gardens complete the volume.

Child Life in Colonial Days. In this volume Mrs. Earle describes child life in a detailed fashion from every angle. Every page carries illustrative material. The child is traced from baptism to the completion of his school days. Clothes of various ages, schools and their equipment, girl scholars taught by illiterate dames, "three-R" schools, hornbooks and primers, the child's "New England Bible", grammars, spellers, read-easies, sum-books, religious copy-books, story-books, common-place or note-books, harsh discipline, manners, games, toys, Sabbath training—none of these matters are overlooked. Considerable emphasis is laid on the huge families which made the rambling New England house a colonial institution. We are reminded that sir William Phipps had twenty-six children by a single wife; Green the Boston printer reared thirty babes; William Rawson, twenty; Rev. John Sherman had twenty-six children by two wives; Rev. Samuel Willard one of seventeen children, raised twenty; Rev. Alijah Weld of Attleborough reared sixteen children on \$220 a year. Franklin was one of seventeen. Infant mortality carried off many, and the days of women were numbered. These are not isolated cases, as Mrs. Earle's readers might suppose.

There is nothing in this volume of an objectionable nature, not even in the description of the New England primer which so effectively taught hatred of Catholicism, "Bloody Mary" and compassion for Martyr Rogers pictured like a burning fagot at the stake. These volumes should be in a child's library or that of a school, for they will vitalize American history and supplement the text. Well printed and beautifully illustrated, they will attract youthful readers. This does not mean that they will be of little service to older and mature students, for quite the contrary is likely.

R. J. P.

The Life of Sir Robert Moray, Soldier, Statesman, and Man of Science (1608-1673). By Alexander Robertson. Edited by Henry W. Meikle. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1922. Pp. xiv+223.

Sir Robert Moray was somewhat intimate with such important historical figures as an English king, two great French premiers, a leading English minister, and a conspicuous English bishop, so it is surprising that a formal biography of him has been so long delayed. Mr. Robertson had to deal with a character almost equally significant and baffling in the generation between the Long Parliament and the secret treaty of Dover.

At the beginning of his public career, he was negotiating with Richelieu, and later with Mazarin, in regard to furnishing the French with Scottish troops for their European wars. In the negotiations between Charles I and the Scots, Moray and the French ambassador (Montreuil) were much concerned. Moray made a journey to France to gain Henrietta Maria's influence in persuading Charles I to accept the terms offered by the Scots. In this book, Mr. Robertson has made clear how great was Mazarin's interest in the English Civil wars. Moray was also curiously implicated in the Glencairn Rising during Cromwell's supremacy. His attitude was not entirely consistent, and led Charles II to suspect that he was in a plot to murder him.

Charles II soon regained his confidence in Moray, however, for after the Restoration Sir Robert was Lauderdale's chief supporter in the victorious struggle with Middleton for the control of Scottish affairs. For several years he remained Lauderdale's personal representative at the English court, as the latter found it imperative that he spend much of his time in Scotland. Moray seems to have been particularly acceptable to Charles II personally, perhaps because of his great and abiding interest in scientific investigation.

Moray was more than usually active in the formal organization of the Royal Society, and is generally considered to have been its first president. His interest in scientific investigation even in the midst of diplomatic intrigue and civil war forms a stimulating chapter in intellectual history. Although he was

much concerned with all the various aspects of scientific experimentation, he never attained any considerable prominence in any single line. His importance, therefore, lies rather in his wide circle of friends among the most notable scientific men of his day in Continental Europe, and in the great enthusiasm with which he worked for the Royal Society.

The ubiquitous and almost omniscient Bishop Burnet is obviously too favorable:

"Sir Robert Moray was a wonderful composition of a man. . . . He had a great strength of apprehension and vivacity of mind in pursuing lively notions; he knew mankind. . . . He was not imposed upon by vulgar notions, opinions and prejudices, but he had a most unclouded clearness of mind. . . . He could pass from business to learning, from that to pious discourses, . . . with that easiness that it was visible that nothing went deeper into his thoughts than as he had a mind it should go."

If Moray were so outstanding a character as this, it is difficult to explain why so little is said about him even by his most intimate friends in their memoirs and correspondence. As a result, one finishes the book with a feeling of disappointment. The author used all the available sources, but the reviewer regrets that he has not shed more light upon the subject.

It is always difficult to review a posthumous work, but especially so in this instance because the author laid down his unfinished manuscript in September, 1914, to enlist in his country's service as a private, since he did not, he said, know "one end of a rifle from the other." He made the supreme sacrifice at the beginning of the Battle of the Somme, but not until he had endeared himself to his comrades by several little poems written on the field of battle. He left the biography of Moray practically without revision, otherwise the reviewer feels that out of the depths of his knowledge, he would have been able to explain many of the still mysterious episodes in the life of Moray.

The outstanding fault in the book is its great compression.

It is distinctly the book for the scholar rather than for the casual reader, as it assumes an intensive knowledge of Continental and Scottish politics during a period which has constantly perplexed such scholars as Airy and Gardiner by its difficulties. Scottish history is rarely easy of comprehension, and casual reference to such topics as "the Engagement", "the Incident", "the Billeting", "Rescissory Act", "leasing-makers", etc. make the narrative difficult to follow. Explanatory footnotes would have materially increased the interest of the reader in this book, and a clear statement of the membership and functions of the Scottish Assembly, the Lords of the Articles and the Privy Council would have been more than welcome.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Mystics and Heretics in Italy: A History of the Religious Revival in the Middle Ages. By Émile Gebhart. Translated with an Introduction by Edwin Maslin Hulme. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923. Pp. 277.

Dr. Gebhart belonged to a school of historiographers whose work is not easy to estimate. An extensive acquaintance with historical literature and a breadth of view partly innate and partly acquired combine to render their productions valuable and attractive; but these qualities are offset by two defects that mar even their best work, viz., a preconceived philosophy tingeing their conclusions and a too great reliance on printed material not always the most reliable. These characteristics appear in the present volume and those who have perused other productions of the same author will have a similar observation to make. Dr. Gebhart was an ardent admirer of certain phases of mediaeval religion but we question whether such Catholics as St. Francis of Assisi would altogether welcome his presenting them in the light in which they appear here. The following passage (p. 31) will give a fair estimate of the author's attitude: "In this history of Italian religion we can distinguish three chief elements, or, if you prefer it, three leading actors in the drama: (1) the Church of Rome; (2) the Christian conscience; and (3) rationalism, ironic unbelief or free investiga-

tion, the spirit of secular independence, lay resistance, or scientific indifference." This familiar distinction between the Church of Rome and the Christian conscience gives the key to the author's philosophy and puts the Catholic reader on his guard. If that reader is himself adequately versed in the period treated he may profit by the study of a book such as this, even though the addition to his knowledge be not considerable; for it is always well to encounter another attitude than one's own. But a reader who would depend on a writer like Mr. Gebhart for information and for acquiring a proper perspective and a correct sense of proportion would incur something of a risk.

The authorities cited tend to intensify the caution. Gregorovius is hardly the most reliable guide to mediaeval history, and his is the very first name cited (p. 271). Moreover, there are certain inaccuracies that give an uneasy feeling of carelessness, E.g., the dates given (p. 39) for Clement III are those of the legitimate Pope of that name and not of the anti-Pope who was contemporary with Gregory VII and of whom there is question in the passage. This slip is all the more remarkable for its causing a glaring anachronism of more than a century, an error patent on the very surface. And the statement (p. 274), "The Florentine reformer [Savanarola] had listened with eagerness to Dominic" is simply amazing. Errors like these do not heighten confidence.

Dr. Hulme, who has himself produced a volume on the Renaissance and the Reformation periods, highly esteems Gebhart and the present reviewer fancies that he discerns signs of the influence of the French writer on the American. Perhaps the praise of others will be more tempered.

EDWIN J. RYAN, D.D.

The Trend of History: Origins of Twentieth Century Problems.

By William Kay Wallace. New York: Macmillan Company, 1922. Pp. xix+372.

Mr. Wallace feels like most of us that the world is not what it used to be; that the affairs of men are in a transitional period. "We are standing," he begins, "on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate. Since the

floodgates of political privilege have been opened, and participation in political affairs has been vouchsafed to all, we find everywhere a progressively increasing apathy in matters relating to politics. The pre-eminence of the State politically conceived, has been called into question. Its sovereignty has been shorn of many of its mystical characteristics. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social institution. Like feudalism it is in its essence unpolitical. As Lord Bryce has pointed out 'feudalism was a social and legal system, only indirectly and by consequence a political one.' We may today note that 'industrialism,' which may serve to dominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history."

Mr. Wallace begins by reviewing the several transitions which preceded the present one in which he is primarily interested. From the Middle Ages in which he can not discover any politics worthy of the name, and only a theistic conception of the State, he passes very rapidly to the age following the Reformation when the affairs of men were guided no longer by transcendental revelation but by empirical rationalism. In this age, extending from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, men had a politico-theistic conception of the State. As Hobbes put it, the State is a mortal God. In the course of the eighteenth century the theistic element was eliminated and men conceived the State to be politico-juridic in character. Three decades of the nineteenth century had passed before the masses, the proletariat, who were excluded from the enjoyment of their full rights by the dominant middle or bourgeois class, asserted their rights. The rising proletariat forced on the middle class a new conception of the State, the politico-economic, which combined the hitherto different functions of the State and of the individual, respectively, the political and economic. The spiritual that had been remained in the politico-juridic conception of the State was now replaced by materialism. "In the process, moral law was lost sight of, moral courage had become debilitated, material wellbeing was deemed all important. Those States which rested upon politically conscious, economically vigorous, numerically strong populations rose to power. The development of national power led to a further growth of world power and was accompanied by a transformation of nationalism

into imperialism, which served to mould the practice and historical development of the politico-economic theory of State." (p. 227). From this conception of the State the transition to that of the State as Power was easily made. In this latest condition the State is the shell, not the kernel of social life.

The value of this synthesis of the trend of history, although considerable, is marred by two general faults. The style in which the book is written compels the reader to go over many passages several times in order to be sure that he understands them. The arrangement of topics and even of chapters is at times confusing. In the second and third divisions of the book occur several chapters considerable portions of which contain matter which, we think, could easily have been omitted. The space gained could profitably have been devoted to a more adequate portrayal of the past of the present non-political order, for, expecting a survey of the background of the "unpolitical" that is arising, the historical student finds that Mr. Wallace has written more largely than necessity would warrant of the background that is political.

Economic and social considerations, broadly speaking cultural considerations, have never been absent in human relations and have never existed apart from the political. Mr. Wallace professes to see no politics prior to the Reformation and regards himself as blazing a trail in the field of economic and social history. "Hitherto," he writes, "history has generally been conceived in an exclusively political sense as a record of the *res gestae*, and of the men who brough them to pass..... History, must henceforth be approached from an institutional, not from an individual, or national standpoint. The theoretical background of social practice must be inquired into. In this brief survey I would point the way to this new method of history." We regret that Mr. Wallace should wish to point the way to this new method of history, for he is writing years too late to be a pioneer in "unpolitical" or culture history. He might more properly have risked a desire to guide us through the already tangled maze of this social and only indirectly political history, to synthesize what patient research in its field has already brought to light.

With respect to investigation, however, Mr. Wallace is of

the opinion that "all the research of historians, all the delvings of students into texts and yellowed parchments to eke out the minutiae of facts, which Macaulay nearly a century ago termed the 'mere dross of history,' are in themselves worthless unless linked up with the current of events." Apart from the general absurdity of such a statement, Mr. Wallace obviously has overlooked the fact that the scholar who is qualified to search the past is rarely also qualified to search the present, and still more rarely has either the inclination or the leisure to do so; that history is, like law or medicine, a field of many subfields, each requiring a lifetime of patient study and honest reflection. All that one who would produce a general history of scientific character can under modern circumstances hope to do is either to turn editor, or if he would not assume this role, to depend for the fields, with the sources of which he has not an intimate personal acquaintance, upon wide reading of the monographs based upon these sources. The latter of these courses, we fear, Mr. Wallace has not taken before essaying his synthesis.

Since Mr. Wallace has set himself to the task of discovering the trend of our present drifting we can not reasonably expect him to tarry long over the periods preceding our own. The transition from ancient to modern life and thought which took place in the Middle Ages is, however, so momentous and so fundamental to a right understanding of later developments that we consider it deserving of more space than he has accorded to it. Mr. Wallace states that from the fifth to the tenth centuries Western Europe was without politics in the proper sense of the term. We do not deny that the Church tried to entrench herself firmly and tried to fill the whole life of the individual in these centuries, but she did not succeed. So far as we know the Millenium did not come in the course of the Middle Ages. The resistance which the Church encountered gave rise to a very interesting kind of politics the history of which runs into the eleventh and subsequent centuries down to the Reformation. Mr. Wallace is blind to all this; indeed, he pays even less attention to the centuries following the tenth than he does to those which preceded it. Again he alludes to feudalism as having been an "unpolitical" institution. With this characterization of feudalism we have no quarrel, but we must remind Mr. Wallace

that this "unpolitical" institution had its roots in the very centuries which he regards as having been devoid of politics or anything worth while discussing except the hold which the Church had secured upon the affairs of men. Presently we are told that in these centuries, presumably in those that comprise the Middle Ages "the social order.....was essentially immobile.. established on a permanent, hereditary basis." With the Northmen pressing upon Western Europe from the north, the Magvar from the east, and Islam from the south, the social order of the period preceding the high feudal age must have been truly remarkable to be able to remain immobile. No one who has even casual acquaintance with feudalism will declare that the social order of its day was immobile. Out of feudalism developed the monarchies which constituted the first step in the evolution of the modern state in which Mr. Wallace has such tremendous interest. Amid the feudal order, too, arose the town class, a bourgeoisie, which in the twelfth century was strong enough in Northern Italy to humble Barbarossa. A hundred years or more later this class had become so important that Edward I admitted it to his Model Parliament and Philip IV to his Estates General. Nowhere does Mr. Wallace note the great economic changes through which Western Europe passed in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries and again in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth. Yet this movement out of the classical money economy into the mediaeval natural economy and back again into the money economy in which our modern age finds itself is interesting not only in itself, but also for the changes which attended the revolutions. The historian of the "unpolitical" can not pass lightly over these changes, much less ignore them. Finally, the writings of the men who discussed at length Guelph-Ghibbeline relations and the problems rising out of the Great Schism and the Conciliar movement should be of very considerable interest to the historian of the political. The significance of these mediaeval factors of modern history will easily be appreciated by the reader. Not until the Reformation, however, did anything happen which Mr. Wallace seems to think worth mentioning or lingering over.

In the modern period Mr. Wallace continues to ignore, more or less completely, fundamental movements. Despite the fact

that the Price Revolution lies behind the Puritan Revolution in England to which he attaches so much importance, the Price Revolution is entirely unnoticed. The significance of the struggle for commercial empire and the adoption of the principles of mediaeval town policies by the states of Western Europe are not perceived although domestic politics, political theory, and international relations were largely determined by these factors. The influence of the French on the political thinking of the American colonists is greatly exaggerated. Locke, not Montesquieu or Rousseau, was the philosopher from whom the colonists drew the arguments which they used against England between 1763 and 1776; the Declaration of Independence is saturated with Locke; the constitution embodies the ideas that were worked out in the colonial debate with England, first incorporated into the state constitutions, and their adaptability to practice observed in these constitutions before they were in 1787 placed in the federal constitution. Mr. Wallace also fails to take adequate notice of the importance of the New World environment upon the political ideas of the colonists. French influence would certainly have led the Fathers who drew up the federal constitution to formulate the Rights of Man before they began to determine what their government was to be like. Let us note, too, in passing that these Fathers did not labor "two years to frame a comprehensive statement of the basis of popular sovereignty." Jefferson had been in France and had carried French ideas to America, but the compiler of the index of the book apparently did not think that Mr. Wallace had said enough about Jefferson as a transmitter of French thought to make it worth while cataloging his name.

Consideration of the portion of the book which deals with more recent times may more fairly be postponed until the volume which we are told is to follow this has been published. Some matters, however, may be suggested at this time. The treatment of the nineteenth century is devoid of any contribution to our knowledge and interpretation of the period. Most readers will find that they will come away from a perusal of the second of the two volumes which Professor Hayes of Columbia has written on the social and political history of Modern Europe with a much more adequate, much more balanced, and far

clearer knowledge of events and developments since 1815 than they would have if they had spent their time in working through Mr. Wallace's book. The only interesting point that is made by Mr. Wallace is that the recent expansionist movement of Europe over other parts of the world was due not so much to the bourgeois desire for new markets, as to collusion between the proletariat and the rulers of the states. Unfortunately this point still remains to be proved. Again, there is not enough made of the economic development of the United States since the Civil War. The United States has been very much in the fore of the world's history in the last decades and should have been given greater attention. Problems and movements, complicated by century-old factors in Europe, often appear in simpler forms in the American field and so contribute to a juster appreciation of what is going on in the world at large.

F. J. TSCHAN.

Modern and Contemporary European Civilization: The Persisting Factors of the Great War, by Harry G. Plum and Gilbert G. Benjamin, Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1923. Pp. 413.

This is an interesting attempt at a new kind of text-book of European history since 1815. It marks a brave effort to break away from the conventional method of treating the subject in chronological and geographical fashion. It proceeds from the assumption that the history of the past century ought to be studied chiefly with a view to understanding the World War and its aftermath, which are supposed to have brought to a focus all the great political, economic, and social questions confronting modern civilization. Hence the authors begin by describing "the present condition in which the world finds itself with the great problems facing it for solution," and then go back to review the evolution of each of these problems during the past century. In so doing they have devoted a larger amount of attention than is customary to economic and social questions; and they have also endeavored to proceed "constructively;" i.e., to

explain, interpret, and draw conclusions from the facts presented, rather than merely to narrate and leave the student to frame his own conclusions.

But the novelty of the book lies mainly in its method. The results of the survey and the judgments expressed in passing are familiar enough, not to say commonplace. The authors applaud democracy, "social justice," the peace movement, the League of Nations, the scientific movement of the nineteenth century; and they castigate the Congress of Vienna, secret diplomacy, imperialism, Socialism and Bolshevism. One looks in vain for new views, but at any rate the views expressed are moderate, humane, and, with few exceptions, unobjectionable. Religious questions are treated with the greatest caution, and are very seldom mentioned.

The greatest defect of the book is inaccuracy. Proper proof-reading would have prevented such lapses as "Louis Phillippe" (p. 117), "Nauman" (p. 16), "Treitszke" (p. 170), and a host of others. What is worse: the volume contains a lamentable number of inexact dates and erroneous statements of fact. To cite but three examples out of many: the authors give one to understand that British policy at the time of the Crimean War was directed by Lord Beaconsfield, but in 1878 by Lord Salisbury (!) (pp. 95-96); they declare that Cavour about 1858 was planning "to obtain the support of Napoleon III in making war upon Austria and Italy" (p. 192); and they affirm that the Treaty of London of 1840, "which was forced upon the Turks of Egypt, recognized the dependency of the Caliph upon the Sultan" (p. 117).

R. H. LORD.

The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840. By Early Lee Fox, Ph.D. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science**, Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1919. Pp. viii, 231.

In the first three chapters which comprise 180 of the 226 pages, there occur over one hundred quotations, formally introduced and formally set off from the body of the text. In the text itself quotations are numerous. We wonder, in conse-

quence, how Dr. Fox would state anything himself. When after about eighty or more pages filled with quotations we come to some that are reasonably quotation-free, we marvel at his command of language. In vigorous and elegant English he upholds the American Colonization Society and condemns the Garrisonians. The Society, so far as we are aware, has enjoyed the good repute, due a well-meaning body of idealists. The Garrisonians most of us have classed with the "jingos," arousing public opinion about some evil, real or imagined, and falling into oblivion when something is about to be done. We did not realize how cruelly the abolitionists misrepresented and attacked the American Colonization Society, and how extensive was the harm which they did in making any settlement of the slavery question, short of civil war, impossible. In this Dr. Fox has made a contribution.

Dr. Fox tells of the mismanagement of the Society's funds, of incompetence in the administration of Liberia, and other matters that promise interesting reading which he does not completely furnish. Some subjects which he might have developed, he touches too lightly. He might have entered into the difficulties attending the establishment of a free negro republic in Africa. If the free negro was in America "a most fruitful source, of lawlessness and crime, of social and political insecurity" (Pp. 30, 31), he certainly was not good colonizing material. But since the colony was established for him, he went out into it, and by his shiftlessness, and other bad traits made Liberian beginnings tremendously difficult. The Society had to shoulder the responsibility and pay the costs. Under the best conditions, a colony long remains a liability. Even the Raleigh fortune could not establish Virginia. Much less could this benevolent Society, relying almost entirely on voluntary contributions, hope to tide over its African plantation. We wonder that the Society succeeded as well; for it was not blessed with other then zealously denominational and ministerial minds in its councils; its presidents were figure-heads. Men of economic common-sense might have saved the Society from financial embarrassments by securing congressional aid, from the secession of important auxiliary societies by tactful firmness, and from

manhandling at the hands of the abolitionists by publicity methods as vigorous and more honest.

Dr. Fox might also have told why Congress did not subsidise and why the Garrisonians attacked the American Colonization Society. Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire. If, taking the statistics of 1820-1830, it cost \$106,367.72 to transport and settle 1430 (or 1420?—the Society's figures are not consistent, and Dr. Fox merely notes that "the cause of the discrepancy is not apparent" page 89,) freemen in Liberia, or per capita, \$74.38, how much should it cost and how long should it take to remove only the annual 5000 increase of the black race in the south? What promise was there in the Society, besides trying to create a cordial entente between the sections and how long could such good feeling last?

We must also call attention to the fact that the source material upon which Dr. Fox draws, consisting very largely of the records of the Society, its letterbooks, the correspondence of its officers, agents, and friends, and the *African Repository*, is nowhere evaluated. After being obliged to listen several times and at some length to Elliott Cresson, we are firmly told, (p. 112), that he was given to hyperbole. A citation from Lincoln might more properly have been taken from his works than, from Rhodes (p. 145). The index lacks important items: among others, Charles Carroll of Carrollton who is mentioned only twice is incompletely indexed; Elliott Cresson who is often mentioned is entirely ignored.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the second president of the American Colonization Society, succeeding Judge Bushrod Washington in 1830. Dr. Fox only twice says that Cresson used to call Carroll "The Great Incubus" (P. 74), adding "with the possible exception of Carroll, not a president of the Society has ever been a proponent of slavery...." The reviewer is not disposed to offer any defense of "The Great Incubus" (although he must note that we still have to wait eight and thirty pages to be told about Elliott Cresson's habits of speech). Carroll's rela-

tions with the American Colonization Society might well be investigated by some student in search of a master's thesis.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Ph.D.

William Plumer's Memorandum of Preceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807. Edited by Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D. New York: 1923. Macmillan Company. Pp. 673.

William Plumer (1759-1807) served New Hampshire in the lower and upper chambers of the legislature, in the constitutional convention of 1791-1792, in the Senate from December 6, 1802—March 3, 1807, and in the governorship in 1812 and 1816. As presidential elector in 1820 he cast the only vote in opposition to Monroe chiefly to call attention to John Quincy Adams. The last three decades of his life were devoted to literary and historical activities in connection with the State Historical Society. Part of his *Memorandum* appeared in a biography by his son, William Plumer, Jr., and a portion of it was used to advantage by the present editor in his recent study of the *Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase*, but it appears first in full in the present work.

While as an early diarist of the Senate, Plumer is not to be compared with Maclay, yet the editor finds his work well done and extremely valuable as a supplement to John Quincy Adams' *Memoirs* and the abbreviated *Annals of Congress*. It will prove a fruitful source of material for a student of the Jeffersonian period: the Louisiana Purchase, Burr trial, non-intercourse policy, Tripolitan affair, patronage disputes, early agitation against slavery, foreign affairs, Chase and Pickering impeachments, Republicanism in New England, scattered notes of the press, and a wealth of political hints in addition to routine proceedings. Fairly tolerant religiously, somewhat dispassionate, moderate for a New England Federalist, Plumer's impressions of Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Burr, Wilkinson, Clinton, Randolph of Roanoke, Clay, Robert Wright, Cotton Smith, William Eaton, William Giles and an infinite number of lesser figures will aid the future historian in picturing them as

living characters. The editor's own work is to be commended. The index is good; notes are fairly plentiful, but the reader is left to do his own checking with the *Annals* for instance.

R. J. P.

A History of California: the American Period. By Robert Glass Cleland, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1922. Pp. x+502.

This may be regarded as in some sort the concluding volume of a trilogy whereof the volumes of Dr. Chapman *The Founding of Spanish California* and *A History of California: The Spanish Period* form the earlier parts. For, while the two scholars have worked independently they have been in frequent communication and have thus contrived to produce by joint effort what is in effect a three-volume history of California. While not possessing so much of the romantic charm that clings to the Spanish period Dr. Cleland's subject is of more immediate practical interest; and for that matter the history of California since its separation from Spain is by no means altogether devoid of the element that appeals to the imagination.

The three decades immediately preceding the discovery of gold, an era made familiar by Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, have a decidedly poetic tinge, to us at least who are sufficiently removed in time to be unaffected by the mismanagement and the inefficient government that was California's lot under Mexico. But for most Americans California becomes interesting upon its entrance into the Union and that is the period that occupies most of this volume, including under this heading (as we reasonably may) the story of the events leading up to the "Conquest" in 1847. But though interesting the tale is not always edifying. Palliate as we will many of the disorders attendant on the Gold Rush there remains in that episode much that reflects discredit on those who sought a short cut to wealth in '49 and subsequent years; and the sordid chronicle of politics in San Francisco is not a tale to be proud of. With that love of his native state characteristic of Californians Dr. Cleland recognizes the dark side of the picture and endeavours to be objective not only in the recording of facts but in the unusually

valuable chapter on "Review and Prophecy" which contains much good sense and solemn warning.

The reviewer regrets that the book contains no treatment of ecclesiastical affairs. Seeing that other phases of the history are so fully treated this omission leaves a sense of incompleteness. In fact, the pages on Education (462-463) by passing over Catholic educational activities, are almost misleading. But apart from this the work has been admirably done and is worthy a place beside the two volumes of Dr. Chapman to which it serves as a continuation.

EDWIN J. RYAN.

Indian and White in the Northwest. A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831-1891. By L. B. Palladino, S.J. Introduction by the right Rev. John B. Brondel, D.D. (Second Edition completely revised and enlarged.) Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Publishing Company. Pp. xx+512.

There is a striking resemblance between the author of *Indian and White in the Northwest*, and Father Englehardt, author of *Missions and Missionaries in California*. Both were religious who worked tirelessly among the Indians, though Fr. Palladino has the added advantage of actual contact with those of whom he writes; both have had but the single purpose of giving the truth for its own sake and the greater glory of God, and both have done well. Though *The Indian and the White in the Northwest* has not the monumental proportions of Fr. Englehardt's work, still it is of genuine historical worth and one of the most important books on western Catholic history. A new edition was sorely needed of this work, so long out of print. It supplements the classic volumes on De Smet and his own letters with first hand information concerning foundations, missions and activities in the far Northwest, and adds much to the secular history of Montana.

Those who are familiar with the first edition will easily recognize this revision, despite the elaborate format. The division of the work follows the first edition. The first part deals with the work done among the Indians, and the second with the activities among the Whites. The time limits, 1831-1891, have

been retained. Chapter Three of Part One contains much that is new in an exposition of better sources to prove the contention that it was the Flatheads of the Bitter Root Valley who first sought the services of the Black Robes from St. Louis in the time of De Smet. His statements in the first edition had been contested and as a result he continued his investigations, making his position the more unassailable. Incidentally he has inserted some events later than 1891, but merely to round out more agreeably the original story. At the end, he has given the names of those who labored of late years in the various stations mentioned in the text. Late Montana history has not been dealt with, much to our regret, and this omission makes even Fr. Palladino admit that the work is incomplete.

Without pretence at pompous rhetoric, it unfolds the story of the tireless De Smet and his co-religionists in the Rockies long before the white man came to dispossess, and scandalize too often, the spiritual children of the sons of St. Ignatius. It is a recalling of the missionary activities of the Jesuits, Sisters of Providence, Ursulines, secular priests and others who have made possible in great measure the present enviable position of Montana in the Union. Fr. Palladino tells us in the preface that dates, unless especially indicated, always refer not to this edition but to the first one. That is a very unsatisfactory arrangement. It is wearisome to revert to that fact, and it is tiresome to read of the past in the present tense. This present method of dating, we think, detracts without adding to the intrinsic value of the volume. This defect is especially noticeable when the text is in any way purely biographical.

Indian education is discussed from the viewpoint of a priest who is anxious to develop the spiritual side of his charges and to care for their souls' development. But Catholic work among the tribes does not and cannot end with the mere recitation of pious prayers. It includes education in all its phases of which religion must be the crown. Everyone is aware of the unfair dealing that often has been accorded Catholic zeal among the Indians, and to what length legislation has proven an obstacle to Catholic endeavor. Fr. Palladino has pointed out the mistakes that have been brought about by sheer ignorance of the

Indian character, which he is so competent to interpret. Catholic missionaries in Montana were the only ones practical enough to see that there are vast differences in the character and especially in the mentality of the Indian and the White. Because priests and sisters did not conduct classes for the former much in the same manner as for the latter they were accused of enslaving the Indian and retarding their progress toward citizenship. But these Catholic educators were aware that one cannot make an American out of a Flathead or a Kalispel by giving him monthly rations and a pair of trousers. To a people that saw "Good Medicine" or divinity in a sulphur match, educated men and women were asked to teach physics and chemistry at once! A complete understanding of Indian characteristics led to the happy combination of mental and manual work that has proven its worth by tangible results and won praise from broad-minded men of all creeds.

The entire book is simply written and suffused with a charming spirit of kindliness. The saving sense of humor, an indispensable asset of a successful missionary, crops out at times in amusing and colorful anecdotes. A very cordial welcome will be given this new edition because historical students appreciate its value.

JOACHIM WALSH, O. P.

The Story of American Democracy Political and Industrial
by Willis Mason West. New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1923.
Pp. 758.

This latest work of a well-known text-book writer leaves the general impression that American democracy, which was by no means included in the political program of leaders among the early settlers, came largely as a result of circumstances and in spite of opposing factors. The "will of the people" has the author's profoundest respect, and this he reverently follows in its struggle for expression against influences political, religious, and capitalistic. The reader will do well to bear in mind that a radically inclined interpreter has liberalism for his theme. Thus will be lessened the surprise at occasional extreme views, the tendency to over-emphasize certain undeniable yet unessential factors, and the slightly icono-

clastic note that not infrequently appears in the treatment of the Supreme Court, and of personalities like that of George Washington—though the latter is surely most highly eulogized. Oppression of “mass” by “class” and the gradual though not as yet complete emancipation from control by the “uppers,” whether the latter be represented by early aristocratic, oligarchic, theocratic or other ruling “cabals” or by the later influence of big business, combined wealth and privilege,—in these may be found the author’s secondary theme. The work in general deserves commendation for accuracy, and bristles with interest as it traces the evolution of democracy in America.

In coherent outline it treated the history of the country from colonial settlements with their background, vicissitudes, and advances, down to the recent Peace Conference. Fully half of the volume is given to the colonial and national era—gestation time for the Present day American system. And the whole story is illumined by the more than ordinary number of unusual and pithy quotations from important documents, journals, correspondence, and general American literature and tradition, seldom at great length, but always serving to give more accurate insight into contemporary attitudes and situations.

Beginnings are traced to the transplanting of English institutions. Virginia and Massachusetts, as typical of the process in other colonies, are treated at greater length. Failure of non-English experiments is variously explained—that of the French because of the “paternalism” of the home-government and lack of home-life as a basis of permanent settlement and interest. On Huguenot achievement there is the traditional emphasis. Spanish efforts receive hardly more than the unfair conventional characterization of “revolting ferocity;” yet English free-booters like Drake and Hawkins are “picturesque.” Great stress is placed on the missionary motives of the London Company, rather than on economic gain, extension of empire, trade rivalries. Maryland, which, with all England crying out against the Stuart tyranny, was a victim of despoliation of liberalism under the “preserver” William of Orange, was not returned to the Lords Baltimore until 1715, when the then Lord turned Protestant for the purpose. “Meantime the Episcopal Church had been established, and ferocious statutes, like those

then in force in England, had been enacted against Catholics, to blacken the law books through the rest of the colonial period." (p. 46.) The author also notes that "Maryland was never a Catholic colony in the sense that the Catholics could have made their religion the state religion, or that they could have excluded other sects. The most that the devout, high-minded Baltimore could do for his fellow-worshippers,—possibly all that he wished to do,—was to secure toleration for them by compelling them to tolerate others. From the first there were many Protestants in the colony, possibly a majority. Baltimore's instructions to the governor of the first expedition enjoined him to permit "no scandal or offense to be given to any of the Protestants." (p. 45f.)

"Ecclesiastical democracy was the essence of the Pilgrim experiment." Old theories concerning persecution of the Pilgrims are unquestionably displaced in Dr. Roland Usher's recent work. In Massachusetts are well traced the economic, oligarchic, aristocratic, theocratic and reactionary democratic movements, together with the struggle for wider representation, a written code, the ballot, local self-government, and so on. "Religious freedom was no part of the Puritan's program. He never claimed that it was. It was fundamentally inconsistent with his program. The Puritan was trying a lofty experiment, for which he sacrificed home and ease; but he could not try it at all without driving out from his 'City of the Lord' those who differed from him." (p. 92) "In practice, the ministers in politics proved a bulwark of class rule. In every controversy between aristocracy and democracy, they found some Biblical passage which would support the aristocracy." (p. 91) Rhode Island ("that sewer") and Connecticut were born of rebellion against all this. Under the influence of the New England Confederation, immigration, the struggle against a tightening royal control after the Restoration, and the "Glorious Revolution"—which receives conventional treatment but with fairer estimate of Andros—democracy continued to advance, making progress with the founding of other colonies. Said William Penn: "The people must rule." Despite this growth of liberalism, however, "Pennsylvania was the only colony in which Roman Catholics had political rights in the eighteenth century." (p. 131) Rhode

Island disfranchised them in 1719. With similar wealth of interesting detail is treated the important, though not brilliant period up to 1763. The constitutional developments arising from struggles between assemblies and the King's executives might have received greater emphasis.

The Revolution, with its new interests and more equal opportunities changed the spirit of the colonials, marking therefore an epoch in the story of American democracy. Loyalists, one in three of the population, and admittedly representing respectability and refinement, receive due consideration, as also Englishmen of the modern era who are said to sympathize with the principles of the war for freedom, "which helped tremendously to start England herself on her splendid march toward democracy.... With a generosity possible only to a great people the English have long recognized this truth, and, with amazing frankness and emphasis, have taught it to their children even in the elementary schools for forty years past. This is why the last two generations of Englishmen have been so much more friendly toward America than most Americans are toward England..." (p. 236) One is inclined to doubt the author's familiarity with the English universities or secondary schools.

A third of the volume considers frontier influences, opposing interpretations of the constitution, personalities of democratic leaders, immigration, territorial expansion, improvements in industry, transportation, education and common understanding between sections, and the complications and aftermaths of the slavery struggle. Then is treated the "business age," the vicissitudes of labor, the "crimes" of combined wealth, the struggle of the "people vs. privilege," and the labor, agrarian, socialistic, single-tax and progressive movements, the moral indignation following the 1890's, the Spanish War, civil service, tariff, and other affairs effecting either gain or loss for American democracy, which he interprets as the betterment of conditions of the masses. To the courts, with their conservative interpretation of the constitution and the consequent tendency to maintain old forms, is accorded scant sympathy.

Because of the interesting treatment of the World War, the reader almost fails to note the lengthy diversion into the complicated politics of central Europe. Woodrow Wilson in his

early conduct of public affairs is by inference ranked among America's greatest men. Financial war-frauds are violently denounced. With warning of the danger of "frantic reaction" and "ignorant revolution" the volume concludes: "If civilization is to be saved from world-wide collapse, there must be built a new world order, based not on international rivalry but on human fraternity and solidarity; and, just as surely, within each nation must we build a new social order based not upon competition and class struggles but upon brotherhood,—on a planned and democratic coöperation in industry for the common good." All of which the writer might have summarized by calling for a practical recognition of Christianity and its fundamental teachings.

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Americans in Eastern Asia. A Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with Reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th Century. By Tyler Dennett. New York: Macmillan Company, 1922. Pp. xvi+725.

Students of American diplomacy will welcome the contribution which Mr. Dennett has made to the literature of their subject. His *Americans in Eastern Asia* is the first comprehensive history of our relations with China, Japan, and Korea. Vigor and frankness are leading characteristics of the book: "the viewpoint is from Washington....the taproot of American policy has been not philanthropy but the demand for most-favored-nation treatment....the Englishman, Continental, Chinese and Japanese as well as the American are invited to view the pictures of themselves as they appear in the American records (for) no nation, either of the East or of the West, has escaped the valid charge of bad faith..... (and) each nation, the United States not excepted, has made its contribution to the welter of evil which now comprises the Far Eastern Question" (pp. v, viii).

Mr. Dennett shows that the Open Door policy of the United States in the Far west, usually ascribed to John Hay, originated early and was never abandoned. Only the methods by which the policy was maintained have been changed from time to time.

For the first half century of its existence the United States government let the merchants who traded to China secure favorable treatment as best they could. Parenthetically we may say that they were not above taking advantage of the indifference of their government to become "far more involved in the opium trade, than appears from any statistics ; the opium trade, like slaves and distilleries, entered into the foundation of many American fortunes" (pp. 118-119). In 1844 the informal relations between the Americans and the Chinese were ended by the conclusion of the Treaty of Wanghia by Caleb Cushing.

The Treaty of Wanghia repudiated, so far as the United States was concerned, the policies which the European states were pursuing, by divers ways to secure territory in order to advance and safeguard their interests in the Far East. The United States hoped that sooner or later China would "in fact be able to assume effectively the obligations of the Cushing treaty." Some Americans, however, were not deluded by such vain hopes. Among these, Commodore Perry, who in 1854 won entry into Japan, urged territorial occupation as a means of securing American interests. Wholly in accord with Perry's idea was Dr. Parker's attempted seizure of Formosa in 1857. The Government, however, resolutely adhered to its anti-imperialistic policy. Not until 1898 did McKinley partially adopt the Perry idea.

In 1858 the United States concluded the Treaty of Tientsin which, among other settlements, provided for the establishment of a diplomatic representative in Peking. Anson Burlingame, who went out to this post just as the northern and southern states were drifting into war, was more successful than Perry had been in advocating a mode of sustaining American interests. The basis of the Burlingame policy was cooperation with the European powers interested in China; "if," as he stated his idea, "the treaty powers could agree among themselves to the neutrality of China, and together secure order in the treaty ports, and give their moral support to the party in China in favor of order, the interests of humanity would be subserved" (p. 373). This was the policy which Seward adopted and pursued as Secretary of State, 1861-1869, not only with respect to China but also with respect to Japan and Korea, because Seward, more than any other statesman of his time believed that the future of the country lay not so much in its east-

ern states and in the Atlantic as in its western territory and in the Pacific. He would extend American interests in the Pacific; therefore, he purchased Alaska, suggested the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and even advocated coöperation with the French for the purpose of opening Korea to the world.

Seward's successors in the Department of State found, however, that Burlingame's policy of coöperation threw the United States into bad company. The European powers had designs in the Far East that were not consonant with those implied in America's most-favored-nation, or, as it had come to be known, Open Door policy. According to the latter China and Japan must be sustained, must be allowed to "become sufficiently strong to maintain their own open doors" (p. 407). The policy of coöperation was, therefore, abandoned after 1868, and American influence in the Far East accordingly became more and more negligible in the course of the following thirty years.

Within these thirty years Japan awoke from her dreams, and finding herself, unlike China, a land with scant resources, began considering ways of acquiring for herself territory on the Asiatic mainland which would supply her with means sufficient to enable her to maintain both her economic and political independence. Korea was among her first objectives. By the treaty of Kanghoa (1876) the Hermit Kingdom was led adroitly to disavow Chinese suzerainty preparatory to a Japanese economic occupation. Europe was not less disturbed than was China by this and subsequent moves of Japan. "The opening of Korea disclosed the ugly outlines of European intrigue as they had not been revealed before. Where....was the United States to stand?" (pp. 472-473). Peace in the East should be preserved in the interests of the East itself and of American trade. For the United States to take sides in the impending conflict between China and Japan implied a rupture of her historic friendship either with China or with Japan. So far as incompetent Korea was concerned, the United States, having recognized her sovereignty and independence save in her foreign relations, was in fact "her only disinterested friend—but had no intention of becoming her guardian." (p. 495). In the end the United States remained technically neutral in the Sino-Japanese War, but in holding the European States off seemed more favorably inclined toward Japan than toward China. In other words, the

United States in 1894-1891 again tried coöperation, this time with a new partner, Japan.

The new partnership continued but not firmly. Japan had learned not American but European ways. She threatened China; she showed her hands in the Hawaiian Islands. Americans, too, had created a lack of confidence through their attitude in the Japanese immigration question. By 1897 the policy of coöperation was again so nearly wrecked that in order to save America from another period of dangerous isolation, McKinley had to return to Perry's policy of territorial acquisition by retaining the Philippines until John Hay could restore the coöperative policy that had been urged by Burlingame and followed by Seward.

This coöperative policy Mr. Dennett considers essential for the peace of the East, but fears the while that it may again be wrecked on the same reefs on which previous coöperative efforts were wrecked—the selfishness of the coöperative powers and the inefficiency of the American diplomatic service which is too subject to the influence of "issue-hunting campaign managers" and too devoid of traditions. The alternative policy of isolation, he thinks, commits the United States either to retirement when American interests are threatened, or to the defense of these interests by military force. We may then well ponder Mr. Dennett's record of our Far Eastern relations. Whether we shall agree with him time and further study alone can decide.

Such further study is worth our while. Mr. Dennett's effort should incite others to study our Far Eastern question. The peoples of the Far East, especially the Chinese, should also join in our study, for as Mr. Dennett remarks a propos of the doctorate dissertations written by Chinese and Japanese students in our Universities: "Hitherto China has rarely spoken for herself in the writing of history, and for this reason the Chinese story has suffered greatly in the telling. The publication of Chinese source material on the history of China's foreign relations would doubtless work havoc in all existing histories." While Japanese students "have made important contributions by supplying translations from Japanese sources not otherwise available," Chinese students have produced monographs too often open to the criticism of special pleading and of "an indiscriminating use of British sources." (p. 693).

F. J. TSCHAN.

MINOR NOTICES

England Under the Restoration (1660-1688). By Thora G. Stone, M.A. With a preface by A. F. Pollard. London: 1923. Longmans, Green & Company. Pp. 260.

This volume in "The University of London Intermediate Source Books of History" series will prove a handy reference book for a college class in English political and constitutional history. Miss Stone in a six page introduction supplies a critical summary of her sources, manuscript collections and transcripts in the Public Record Office, British Museum and university archives, Parliamentary journals and debates, ephemeral newspapers and gazettes, printed calendars of State Papers, Admiralty and Pepysian Sea manuscripts, contemporary private journals and diaries, and the records of the great trading companies. This will be of value to more than beginners.

The excerpts, suggestive of this huge mass of materials, seem to be well chosen to illustrate not only governmental activities, but also the political, social, economic and religious interests of the nation during the reign of Charles II and James II. The price, unfortunately, is nearly prohibitive.

R. J. P.

Spiritism in Antiquity. By Lewis Hayles Patoris. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. 325.

The recent revival of interest in Spiritism should be nothing more than the revamping of doctrines which were held in early times and the output of works dealing with Spiritistic problems is extensive. Few of them have lasting value. Dr. Patoris' volume is one of the few that are worth while. It treats of ecstasy, motor-automatism, dreams, visions, auditions, second-sight, mind-reading and all the other phenomena connected with Spiritism have been studied with great care by the author from their earliest appearance in history. There are full treatises on spiritualistic manifestations in China, Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, amongst the Indo-Europeans, the Semites and the Israelites. In fact, the study of spiritistic phenomena throughout the world

seems to be made for the purpose of bringing out as early as possible the vogue of Spiritism amongst the children of Israel. As a consequence, we gain a great deal of information regarding the idea of immortality as it was held and taught in post-exilic Judaism. Whilst the author has not made much use of Catholic authorities on the subject, especially the studies of Fathers Le Grange and Dahorme, he has succeeded in gathering a vast amount of information not easily obtainable elsewhere in such well digested form.

In the last chapter is a study of Christ's teaching regarding the future life. The greatest value of the book, we think, consists of the opening chapters, where on every page there is displayed a vast amount of erudition on a subject which, is still very difficult to handle.

The King's Council in the North. By R. R. Reid. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922. Pp. x+532.

This volume deals with an episode where significance is obscured by the larger events of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. It traces the Council from its beginning in the feudal age to its downfall during the Tory parliament. It was offered originally as a thesis for a doctor's degree and subsequently rewritten. It is thoroughly documented and has a valuable bibliography.

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NOTES AND COMMENT

Irish Franciscans in Czecho-Slovakia.—We are indebted to the *Univers* for the following interesting paper read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland at its last meeting by Mr. R. J. Kelly, K. C., a Fellow of the Society:

Prague, the capital of the new Czecho-Slovakia Republic, "The Golden City," as it is called, has many traditional ties with Ireland, and many points of connection can be traced. One of the principal streets is called Hyberniska Ulice—formerly Hibernia Strasse. In this street is a building, now used for State purposes, which was formerly the Irish Franciscan College of the Immaculate Conception, founded in 1629 by the munificence of Frederick II. of Austria, at the instance of the Franciscans of Louvain, who prayed for a site for a college in which the exiled students of the Irish Province might be gathered together to glorify God, and to prepare themselves for their mission in their native land.

Cardinal Von Harrack, Archbishop of Prague, helped and encouraged the work; a site was given, and Father Patrick Fleming, accompanied by another Irish Franciscan, Father Geraldine, proceeded to Prague in November, 1630. A house was built to accommodate thirty religious. The site of the new building was that of the old Franciscan Monastery, dedicated to St. Ambrose, which had been founded by Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, in 1232. It had long ceased to be used, and when Father Fleming came to make the new foundation it was occupied by a smith, and was popularly known as the smithy. The Irish Fathers had to purchase the tenant's interest.

The inaugural ceremony, presided over by Cardinal Von Harrack, was held on April 28, 1631. Mathew Hoare, then only a deacon, delivered the inaugural discourse, and his oration, which was in Latin, was a fine effort of pulpit oratory. The money for the building was found by Don Martin Huerto, Prefect-General of the Guards, and Simon Peter Anlich, Privy Councilor and Secretary of State.

Father Fleming, who as the founder and first Superior of the Franciscan House, deserves special mention here, was born in 1599, at Lagan, in the parish of Cloondaleen, County Louth, and was the son of Gerald Fleming, of the family of the barons of Slane. He was educated at Douai, then under the care of his uncle, Christopher Cusack, founder and promoter of the Irish Colleges or pensionates at Lille, St. Omer, Antwerp, Douai, and Tournai. Later he was in several colleges, where he occupied himself in copying the lives and works of Irish saints which he had discovered.

On the foundation, in 1625, of the College of St. Isidore, in Rome, Fleming was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy. Three years later he was at Louvain, and there prepared for the Press the *Life and Works of St. Columbanus*. To this he added the "Interpretatio Mystica Pro-

genitorum D. Jesus," of St. Aileran; the "Liber Pœnitentiarum Mensura," of Cumeanus; the Lives of St. Comgal, of St. Molua, and of St. Mochoe. This collection was printed at Antwerp by Morelius. Soon after this, as we have seen, he was sent to govern the new college at Prague.

In October, 1631, the Elector of Saxony, having defeated the Imperial forces, advanced to besiege Prague. The Lutheran peasantry began to plunder the Catholic inhabitants, and wreck the religious houses, and, in consequence, the Friars of Prague had to seek safety in flight. Father Fleming, with Mathew Hoare, Patrick Magennis, and Patrick Taaffe, and two Servites, departed, leaving the Convent in the hands of Father Geraldine.

On November 7, as the fugitives approached the little town of Beneschow, seven Hussite peasants seized Father Fleming and his companion and barbarously murdered them. On the morrow the two bodies were found on the road. They were taken to the Convent of Wotitz, four miles from the scene and seven miles from Prague, where they were buried. An inscription in Czech over their graves commemorates their martyrdom. Father Sirinus, or O'Sheeran, in editing the *Collectanea* of Fleming, gives part of the funeral oration on the occasion of their obsequies, and so does Anthony Broudin in his *Propugnaculum*.

Peace being restored, the Irish Friars returned to Prague and to their convent, which, in their absence, had been turned into a stable by the Elector. Its restoration was at once effected through the munificence of John of Talenberg and the soldiers of the Irish Brigade, especially Colonel Butler, who left the Friars 50,000 florins, the Irish soldiers giving 300 Imperial crowns.

Fathers Francis Farrell and Archibald Lewis Macdui, Patrick Coleman, Peter O'Keolly, Paul Frayne, Anthony Lavin, Lawrence O'Brien, and James McConnell arrived in Prague in 1634-5, also Fathers Simon Fleming and Roche. In later years came a succession of Friars with such distinctive names as Bonaventure Bermingham, Anthony Carron, Hugh Brennan, Cornelius Keogh, Patrick Ward, Valentine Lynch, and Hugh De Burgo, the latter being Commissary-General of the Irish Franciscans on the Continent.

The foundation stone of the Church of the Immaculate Conception was laid by the Emperor Ferdinand III., on August 15, 1652, and he contributed 300 florins towards the building. The college contained a fine library.

On the suppression of the monastery, the books were taken to the National Library at Prague and to the Premonstratensian Monastery. There was usually in the College a community of from sixty to seventy Irish Friars. Near the house Cardinal Von Harrack built a diocesan seminary in which the Irish Friars taught Philosophy and Theology. Father Malachy Fallon was Professor there, and we find a succession of Irish names, such as O'Kelly, Higgins, Ward, Clanchy, Murphy, O'Neill, MacSweeney, etc.

The Bohemians owe more to the Irish Franciscans than book-learning.

They taught agriculture and in their garden at Prague in 1750 was planted the first potato, from seed brought from Ireland by the Friars. Notwithstanding, however, their services so far apart as Theology and Agriculture, the Irish Friars were suppressed by a decree of the Emperor Joseph II. on February 12, 1786, and their buildings confiscated.

The college had then fifty Friars, among whom were thirty priests who had the option of returning to Ireland or remaining on a small pension in Bohemia. All who were physically capable left, each receiving 300 guilders. Thus closed the Irish foundation, which had extended over a period, with one or two breaks, of 161 years.

After the expulsion of the community the church was at first used for Divine Service for the military; and from 1792 to 1802 as a theatre. In 1801 the buildings were completely remodelled and converted into Government offices, and the church made a store for contraband goods; and when I saw it, ten years ago, it was used by the Austrian Government as a store for tobacco. The tower of the church was taken down and the façade transformed. There were twelve chapels in the church, one of them being dedicated to St. Patrick.

There remains now but to give a full list of works, some of them are in the National Library at Prague and in the other libraries of the city, of which the authors are our own countrymen. They are all written in Latin, and were printed in Prague.

For this complete and exhaustive list, as well as for some interesting details of the foundation and members of the Irish Franciscan Convent and Church, I am indebted to my friend, Rev. Dr. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M., who is one of the community of Friars Minor at Merchants' Quay, Dublin. Accompanied by his learned *confrère*, Father Jennings, he visited Prague, and, indeed, most parts of Austria, particularly those places associated with the names and memory of Irish priests and martyrs, and as the result of his labours and researches we in Ireland have the materials of a history of our countrymen abroad—particularly those in Austria and Bohemia.

The New Library at Louvain.—The blessing recently of the new library of the University of Louvain by Cardinal Mercier was a ceremony remarkable in many ways, and of interest to all Americans. In particular should the occasion enlist the enthusiasm of the American Catholic.

The dedication of a splendid and spacious building, the gift of a sympathetic and loving people, makes possible the continuance of a work of education so successfully carried on for more than five centuries. That it was constructed by the small donations of men, women and children all over the United States gives a deeper significance to this already gracious gift. It serves as the symbol of a friendship and love of one nation for another.

This response of an entire nation to the needs of a Catholic University is the worthy fruit of the good seed of unselfish heroism sown by the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. His intrepid stand for the rights of

his flock, his self-sacrificing zeal, his patience and charity served to make him the outstanding hero of the war and enlisted the enthusiastic support of all right thinking people.

There is cause for hope for the future of the nation that, in its material prosperity, the power of Christian Charity and Justice, which alone can save it from the fate of the luxury loving nations of the past, is still in the hearts of the people, and manifests itself when occasion demands.

The Church in North Dakota.—In an article on Early Religious Activities in North Dakota, in the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, for April, Rev. Charles H. Phillips, the author, has this to say of the Catholic Church:

There are stories of a Catholic priest who came out with the Hudson Bay Fur Company as early as 1812. His purpose was to exercise a moral restraint on the members of the Company, and to make an attempt at the conversion of the Indians. The Sioux were on this side of the river, and were originally at war with the Chippewas of the Minnesota lake region. Some French adventurers were also in the country, and through intermarrying with the Indians, became the progenitors of the half-breeds still living along the Canadian border. This priest is reported to have built a sod-chapel at St. Joseph, which was later named Walhalla. This was probably the first white settlement in the state

Early in the '40's a line of traffic was established from St. Paul, the head of navigation on the Mississippi, to the Hudson Bay station at Pembina. Six of the old Red River carts were making the trips in 1843, the precursors of the North Coast and Oriental Limiteds. These had increased to 162 in 1851, and to 600 in 1858. A Catholic priest usually accompanied them to conduct daily devotions.....

As stated above, the Catholic missionaries were early on the ground, with headquarters at St. Boniface. They made trips up the valley and had established missions at Pembina and Walhalla before they were aware they had crossed the border into the United States.

Reverend Joseph Dumoulin from Quebec came to Pembina and conducted a school and a church. During his first year he baptized 52 people. He remained until the Hudson Bay Company closed the mission, five years later.

The next resident missionary was probably Father George Anthony Belcourt who located in Pembina in June, 1831. There were about 1000 Indians in the neighborhood. He conducted a school for Indian and half-breed children, erected a chapel and small mill, and prepared a dictionary and grammar of the Chippewa tongue. He also built a chapel, a Sisters' school, and a flour mill at Walhalla. He penetrated as far west as Turtle Mountains. He had such an influence over the red men that he prevented the Chippewas from joining the Sioux in the war of 1862.

In 1859 came Reverend Joseph Griffin to Pembina. Caught in a bliz-

zard on the prairie near Neche, he wandered five days, and from the effects of it lost one leg and a part of the other foot. He remained two years, baptized 200 candidates and performed 20 marriage ceremonies.

From 1818 to 1880, thirty-three priests and four bishops had been on duty within the bounds of this state. Father Decmet in 1840 had visited the Mandans along the Missouri River as far north as Fort Berthold. Father Genin labored at Fort Abercrombie from 1868 to 1874. In the following year he was transferred to Bismark where he built a small church and a Sisters' school. Bishop Marty furnished the necessary funds. Father Chrysostom was pastor there for several years. The mission at Ft. Totten was founded by Father Revoux in 1874.

In Jamestown, the first mass was celebrated by Father Chrysostom January 10, 1879. The meetings were held in Kelleher Hall and later in the school house and Klaus Hall. The first church was built by Father Flannagan in 1882. Anton Klaus, Sr., secured \$500 of the necessary money from friends in Green Bay, Wisconsin. The house was 30x60 feet and cost \$6,000. This served the growing congregation until 1914 when the present fine structure was dedicated, during the pastorate of Father Geraghty.

Bishop Marty superintended the work up to about 1889 when we became a State. The See was located at Jamestown, and December 27, 1889, John Shanley was consecrated bishop. Later he took up his residence in Fargo and built the cathedral there in 1891. When he began his work, there were 60 Catholic churches in the state and 33 priests. The 20 years of his regime were years of rapid growth and he saw the numbers increase to 225 churches and 106 priests, with 6 academies, 34 parochial schools, and 4 hospitals. He died in Fargo, July 16, 1909....

An Aqueduct Built by Monks.—Portions of an aqueduct built more than two centuries ago by Franciscan monks and many valuable documents bearing upon life in the Franciscan missions of Texas have been unearthed by scientists of the University of Texas, who are investigating ruins uncovered by workmen while excavating for residential foundations near the San Juan Mission.

A veritable garden of Eden surrounded the mission in the early days, according to the pictures painted by the scientists. Tropical flowers and fruits grew in abundance in fields that stretched out from the mission for nearly half a mile, being irrigated by the aqueduct system devised by the monks. The water was from the San Antonio River.

The monks, according to manuscripts unearthed, regarded San Juan Mission as the most delightful place in "New Spain." The records give an interesting description of the mission life.

The City of "Bells and Bridges."—The famous Pilgrimage of the Most Precious Blood at Bruges—The City of "Bells and Bridges" was observed this year with unwonted splendor. The National Geographic Society in a late bulletin says:

If we are unfamiliar with the language of a foreign country we are likely to accept the names of its cities as meaning nothing in particular or as having an esoteric significance which we can hardly hope to fathom. But Bruges fools us. Its name has about as common an origin and is about as logically descriptive as 'Three Rivers' or 'Smiths Cross-roads.' Because the town from the beginning had numerous canals and structures carrying streets across them it was named (in Flemish) 'Bridges.' It is a sort of reversed Venice. Whereas the latter is an area of sea with islands scattered in it, Bruges is a land area cut into islands by numerous canals. In both cities many houses rise sheer from the water and boats are used for traffic.

Like Venice again, Bruges was once the commercial and banking center of the world. This was in the fourteenth century. The center of commercial activity had moved from Italy to Flanders, and Bruges was then Flanders' greatest market. World trade came up the River Zwyn, which then gave it a harbor; merchants from the four quarters of the world maintained headquarters in the city, and its bourse regulated the exchange rate of all Europe. Ghent was a strong rival, but until the Zwyn finally silted up in 1490 Bruges held its own. At the height of its power Bruges had a population of 200,000; now the inhabitants number about 55,000.

Not to be cheated of a port by nature's destructive forces, the people of Bruges have built several canals to the North sea. The largest and most direct leads eight miles to Zeebrugge (meaning 'the seaport of Bruges'). This port and its canal and the basin at Bruges figured prominently in the world war. The Germans developed a strong U-boat nest at Bruges from which their underwater commerce destroyers went out to sink many an allied ship and to which they returned for repairs and outfitting. A tremendously strong shelter with a concrete roof six feet thick, built over the water, stands near the Bruges end of the sea canal today, a monument to German U-boat activities. Allied bombing planes were unable to find the exact location of this camouflaged nest, and probably would have been able to inflict but little damage on its roof even if direct hits had been scored. The British, however, successfully hindered the U-boat activities from the Bruges nest by their famous sortie against the Zeebrugge mole when old ships filled with concrete were sunk across the entrance channel to the canal.

Bruges is one of the quaintest of the old Flemish cities and is said to preserve in its architecture a more medieval aspect than any of its sister municipalities. Prominent architectural features are the Church of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of St. Sauveur, both excellent examples of early pointed Gothic, and the Market Hall, with its dominant belfry housing forty-eight bells, one of the most famous collections of chimes in Europe.

In St. Basile's Chapel is kept the Sacred Vial, brought by crusading knights from Jerusalem, reputed to have been the vessel holding the water with which Joseph of Arimathea bathed the blood-stained body

of Christ. This reliquary is carried once each year in the procession of the Most Precious Blood.

Bruges has long been noted for its woolen cloths. In recognition of the city's pre-eminence in this field, in 1430 Philip the Good of Burgundy named the order which he then created, the 'Order of the Golden Fleese.' This has ever since been one of the most exclusively knightly orders.

The Pioneer Benedictine Historian of the United States.—The *Fortnightly Review* in a brief résumé of a bibliographic sketch of Fr. Oswald Moosemullen, O.S.B., which appears in *Records of the American Catholic Historians* (Philadelphia, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1) says:

Father Oswald was a native of Bavaria, who came to America in 1852, entered the Benedictine Order soon afterward, at St. Vincent's, Pennsylvania, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1856. After many labors as a pastor and teacher, in 1892, he founded a new monastery at Wetaug, in southern Illinois, which he named Cluny, and where he died in 1901.

His literary activity began in 1867. In 1871 he published a history of St. Vincent's Abbey, Pennsylvania. His book, "Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus," 1889, is a valuable contribution to the Church history of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland. In 1882 he founded a historical magazine, *Der Geschichtsfreund*, which, however, lasted only two years. In 1889 he published a biography of Archabbot Boniface Wimmer.

Fr. Oswald's last work was his famous *Legende*,—Lives of the Saints in the form of a monthly periodical. This work, which was planned on a gigantic scale (seven octavo volumes of 50 pages each give the saints from the 1st of January to the 7th of February) at first had 3,000 subscribers, but after seven years of heroic effort had to be suspended.

Fr. Oswald's published writings, with the exception of *Manual of Good Manners* (1874), are all in the German language, though his biographer, Fr. Felix Fellner, O.S.B., notes that his extant letters to his superiors are nearly all in English. It is not generally known that he was proposed for a chair of history in the Catholic University of America, but declined the offer, as he had declined the office of abbot of Belmont, N. C., in 1883. The priory of Cluny had to be given up in 1903. The whole community emigrated to Saskatchewan, Canada, where it is now flourishing. Fr. Oswald's remains lie buried at Wetaug, Ill., under a marble tombstone donated by his former colored parishioners of Savannah, Ga. *R. i. p.!*

An Interesting Discovery.—The *Irish Catholic* announces the finding in the Archives of Haute Garonne, France of the original Bull of the Canonization St. Thomas Aquinas. It is specially significant that this find should synchronize with the Celebration of the Sixth Centenary of the Canonization of "The Angel of the Schools."

The Bull is dated "Avignon, the 15th day of the Kalends of August,

1323," and is signed by Pope John XXII. Suspended from the parchment is a leaden seal, on one side is an impression of St. Peter and St. Paul, while on the other side is inscribed the name of the reigning pontiff. The finding of the original Bull at Toulouse is explained by the fact that the body of the Saint, almost a century after his death, was transferred from the monastery of the Cistercians at Fossa Nova, Naples, to the Dominican convent in Haute Garonne. The document was probably sent at the same time as an identification of the remains and a confirmation of the privilege which protected them. Members of the French Archaeological Society who were allowed to examine the Bull were impressed by its evident antiquity and marvellous penmanship.

A Militant Prelate.—Under this caption the *Columbian* has the following brief sketch of Archbishop Hughes.

John Hughes was born in Annaloghan, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1797, and came to the United States in 1817. He entered Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., in 1819 as an employe and a year later was accepted as a student for the priesthood. Ordained by Bishop Conwell in Philadelphia in 1826, he was soon given an opportunity to display those brilliant qualities that soon made him eminent. He subdued a revolt of the upholders of trusteeism through the erection of St. Joseph's church in Philadelphia, then considered one of the finest in the land, in 1832, and he gained fame as a controversialist through a debate with the Rev. John A. Breckenridge, a Presbyterian clergyman. His ability caused him to be chosen and consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop of New York in 1838. On the death of Bishop Dubois in 1842 he succeeded to the See and in 1850 he became the first Archbishop of New York, receiving the pallium personally from Pope Pius IX in Rome.

A critical diocesan condition had arisen in the New York Diocese, arising from the differences between Bishop Dubois and the lay trustees who had control of church revenues. This condition had worked injury to religion and encumbered ten churches with a burden of \$300,000. Bishop Hughes appealed directly to the people, forcefully defended the Divine authority to govern granted by Christ to the Hierarchy and exposed the evils of lay domination. The first Diocesan synod of New York, in 1841, enacted timely legislation which remedied the evils.

Bishop Hughes laid the foundation of the present Catholic school system in New York. On returning from Europe, he found his flock involved in a movement to modify the existing common-school system, which, while professing to be non-sectarian, was undermining the faith of Catholic children. He opposed the Public School Society, a private corporation controlling the management of the schools on the ground that it had violated the fundamental American principle of freedom of conscience. He finally overthrew the Public School Society and when the legislature refused to support separate Catholic schools, established the present system.

In 1844, when the anti-Catholic outbreak of the "Native-American"

occurred, Bishop Hughes called on the Mayor of New York, asking him to prevent an advertised meeting of the "Native Americans" and warning him of the consequence if any outrages were attempted. The meeting was prevented and due to Bishop Hughes' fearless and sagacious leadership peace was preserved. Again in 1844, when the "Know-Nothing" faction became active, Bishop Hughes' leadership proved a potent factor in avoiding public disturbances.

In 1847 Bishop Hughes spoke before Congress in Washington, his subject being "Christianity the Only Source of Moral, Social, and Political Regeneration." He advocated the Union cause during the Civil War and was entrusted by Secretary Seward with an important mission to the Court of Napoleon III. During the draft riots of 1863, although his health was fatally broken, he used his influence to quiet the populace, speaking to the people from a balcony. He died on January 3, 1864.

Archbishop Hughes' loyalty to his adopted country was finely adjusted to the duties and responsibilities of his sacred office. Under his guidance the Diocese of New York flourished in every way. Thus in 1842 there were 200,000 Catholics, with forty priests and fifty churches under his jurisdiction, which embraced New York and the eastern part of New Jersey. At his death he had jurisdiction over 150 priests, 85 churches, three colleges, fifty schools and academies and 400,000 people. As metropolitan, created in 1850, he presided over New York, New Jersey and all New England, with suffragan Sees at Albany, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Newark, Boston, Hartford and Portland.

The First French Newspaper in the United States.—*The Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* says that the first French newspaper published in the United States was not, as is generally believed, *L'Essai du Michigan ou Impartial Observer* (founded by Father Gabriel Richard in 1809.) *The Bulletin* states:

Dès 1789 un journal français avait été publié à Boston et c'est le *Courrier de Boston* qu'on doit regarder comme le pionnier de la presse française aux Etats-Unis.

Le premier numéro du *Courrier de Boston* parut le 23 avril 1789. C'était un in-quarto de huit pages à deux colonnes. Il se publiait une fois par semaine, le jeudi.

D'après le *Diary* de William Bently, le *Courrier de Boston* était publié par Paul-Joseph Guérard de Nancrede, professeur de français à l'université Harvard.

Le dernier numéro du *Courrier de Boston* parut le 15 octobre 1789. Il avait donc eu une existence d'à peu près six mois.

A la Bibliothèque publique de Boston on conserve une série complète du *Courrier de Boston*.

M. J.-A. Favreau, journaliste canadien des Etats-Unis, qui avait eu la bonne fortune de lire toute la série du *Courrier de Boston*, en faisait l'analyse suivante dans une conférence faite devant la Société Historique Franco-Américaine le 12 mars 1903:

"Dès son premier numéro, le *Courrier de Boston* s'occupe des débats de la première session du Congrès américain, dont la première séance venait d'avoir lieu le 6 avril. Elections du président et du vice-président (George Washington et John Adams), discours d'inauguration de Washington, ses messages spéciaux au Congrès, actes créant les départements de l'Exécutif, débats les plus importants, tout est rapporté avec une exactitude scrupuleuse. C'est le 29 septembre que finit la session. Ce jour-là, Washington envoya au Congrès avec un message approuvant le projet des représentants de prendre congé pour trois mois, une communication que l'éditeur du *Courrier de Boston* dut trouver fort de son goût."

"Cette communication était une expression de sympathie à "Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne" et à la nation française pour la mort du fils aîné de Louis XVI, le Dauphin: Ironie des choses, avant la fin de cette même année 1789 les premiers événements de cette Révolution, qui allait bientôt dévorer l'autre dauphin, le roi, la reine et tant d'autres victimes innocentes, s'étaient déjà produits.

"Les derniers numéros du *Courrier de Boston* sont remplis de la Bastille et de détails sur l'agitation qui allait toujours grandissante en France. Mais toujours le rédacteur du *Courrier de Boston* n'avait que des paroles d'éloges pour le "bon monarque."

"Détail curieux, quand l'éditeur du *Courrier* veut attirer spécialement l'attention des lecteurs dans des avis, ceux-ci sont rédigés en français et en anglais. C'est de cette façon qu'il se présente devant le public dans son premier numéro. Dans le neuvième numéro il fait appel pour l'encouragement. Il faut croire que cet appel n'eut pas le succès qu'en attendait l'auteur et que les abonnés continuaient à être négligents dans le paiement de leur abonnement, puisqu'au quinzième numéro, soit le 30 juillet, il revient à la charge dans un avis rédigé dans les deux langues.

"Hélas! l'encouragement tant espéré ne vint pas. Les annonces brillaient toujours par leur absence. Dans les six mois de son existence, le *Courrier de Boston* ne publia qu'une seule annonce, de deux lignes, où il s'agissait d'une chambre garnie à louer. Enfin, au vingt-sixième numéro en date du 15 octobre 1789, l'éditeur annonce qu'il est forcé de suspendre sa publication."

England and the Vatican.— In connection with the recent visit of King George to the Vatican the New York *Times* says editorially:

The visit of King George to the Vatican, while not entirely unprecedented, was unusual. It does not fall precisely into the category of other non-Catholic rulers who in recent years have paid their respects to the Sovereign Pontiff. Although by law the head of an established national Protestant Church, the King bears a Roman Catholic title, "Fidei Defensor," which has been borne by all English monarchs ever since Leo X. gave it to Henry VIII. in 1521. That was, of course, before the apostasy of Henry. He had written a pamphlet against Luther, *Asserti, septem sacramentorum*, and received the title as a reward. The first

"Defender of the Faith" to visit a Pope was Edward VII., who called on Leo XIII. in 1903. As Prince of Wales he had already been to the Vatican twice, once to see Pius IX. in 1859, and again the same Pontiff twelve years later. Before the visit of King Edward, no English sovereign had been received by the Holy Father since Canute attended Pope Johannes XIX. in 1027, and he was more Danish than English.

Prior to 1870 the visits of Catholic rulers to Rome and its Pope were frequent, but then they were inhibited, because they would have been obliged to ignore the "usurping sovereign" at the Quirinal, or do as President Laubet did, ignore the Pope. The late Pope provisionally removed this ban in 1921, and afterward the King and Queen of the Belgians, Prince Albert I. of Monaco and the President of Brazil visited both the Quirinal and the Vatican. As to non-Catholic rulers, the most conspicuous visits have been the two made by the former German Emperor, President Wilson and the King of Denmark. The present Prince of Wales also visited Benedict XV. in May, 1918.

English diplomatic relations with the Vatican were resumed in December, 1914, when Sir Henry Howard was sent there to aid the Belgian Minister as a counter-irritant to the envoys of the Catholic German States and Austria. After the break of 1905 France did not resume diplomatic relations until 1921, and not upon an accepted basis until 1923. Howard was succeeded by the Count de Salis in 1916, and this year he gave way to Theo Russell, the son of Lord Odo Russell. The latter was Queen Victoria's representative at Rome when her son first saw Pius IX. in 1859.

Rightly or wrongly, the Allies believed that if they had possessed stronger representation at the Vatican during the World War their case would have been better presented to the religious world. At least, the Peace Note of Benedict XV., Aug. 1, 1917, would have read differently and there would have been no von Gerlach scandal with treason and the blowing up of an Italian battleship. And after the World War there was the problem of Ireland, to help solve which Pope Pius XI., at the instance of Mr. Russell, recently dispatched a special envoy to the intransigent Irish clergy. Experience has shown that the Vatican exercises considerable political influence, not to be ignored even by Protestant nations, and least of all by a Protestant sovereign whose Catholic subjects are among the most loyal to him.

A Dominican Centenary.—The *Tablet* says of the Dominican Centenary celebrated in London in August:

The consecration of the priory church of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Dominic, Southampton Road, N. W., which took place on August, 1, fitly marked the 700th anniversary of the coming of the Dominicans to London. In 1223 the Black Friars, who two years previous to that date had landed in England and established themselves at Oxford, opened their first London priory at Holborn on land purchased expressly for that purpose by the Earl of Kent. The buildings standing on this property

at the time were adapted by the friars to their own life. Later on a church was built, and, thanks to royal munificence, the necessary alterations and enlargement of the priory were made.

By the year 1243 the community numbered eighty, as is evident from a Christmas gift of that number of habits and shoes from King Henry III. While the friars were busied with the improvement and extension of their dwelling, the king was also engaged on some building operations at Westminster, and occasionally borrowed materials, such as lime and stone, from the Dominicans. It was no doubt as a sign of his gratitude for the loan that he gave them five figures of kings carved in freestone, and a pedestal for a figure of Our Lady. This artistic adornment was intended for a conduit on which the friars were at work.

In 1275 Holborn Priory, in spite of its enlargement, was found too small to lodge the increasing numbers, and so a move was made to Ludgate, where the building of a new priory was taken in hand. Edward I with his queen Eleanor, and Robert Kilwardby, Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, were the chief patrons of this fresh enterprise. In this second priory met Parliaments of Edward II, Edward IV, and Henry VIII. Here was held the great Council of English Bishops in 1382 in which Wyclif was condemned. Here, too, was opened the famous trial concerning the validity of Henry VIII's marriage with Catharine of Aragon. Then came the breach with the Holy See, and in 1538 the Ludgate priory was dissolved and the inmates scattered. The priory church, described as one of the fairest in London, was allowed to fall into ruin and was eventually pulled down. In the stately church of the Dominicans in Southampton Road stands a pillar discovered during excavations at Ludgate in 1900—a stone of remembrance and a link between present and past Black Friars. For a brief space of four years (1555—1559) the priory of St. Bartholomew at Smithfield was in the possession of the Dominicans, but the accession of Elizabeth and the re-establishment of Protestantism spelt disaster to the religious Orders.

John Hopton and Maurice Griffiths, Dominican Bishops of Norwich and Rochester respectively, both died soon after Queen Mary, and with her death the continuous Dominican life in England from 1221 came to an end. Here and there we light upon the names of Dominicans; now and again we read of English friars from priories across the sea labouring in secret among the stricken Catholics of England. In 1622 Friar Thomas Middleton was appointed Vicar of the Province, and set about the reorganization of the ruined province. Seven friars were all who could be counted as actually residing in England, and the attempt to establish a novitiate in London was upset by the great Rebellion.

It would be impossible here to describe at length the difficulties, reverses, and disappointments which beset the endeavour to relight the Dominican torch in England; but no account, however short, would be complete without special mention of Friar Thomas Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, born in 1629, and created Cardinal Priest of St. Cecilia in Trastevere in 1675. To him belongs the honour of restoring

the English province and infusing into it new life; and before his death in 1694 he had the satisfaction of seeing that province which he loved so well and served so generously firmly established and showing signs of vigorous life.

It was in 1861 that Cardinal Wiseman invited the Dominicans to London, and in the following year the building of the priory was begun. The next year saw the laying of the foundation stone of the church by the then Master General of the Order, the Most Rev. Father Jandel, in the presence of His Eminence. On May 31, 1883, the solemn opening of the priory church took place, and its consecration by the Bishop of Cambysopolis marked another stage in the history of the London Black Friars. Among those present were the Very Rev. Father Bede Jarrett (Provincial), and the Dominican Priors of Newcastle, Woodchester, Leicester, Pendleton, and Hawkesyard. The choir of friars was under the direction of Father Jerome Rigby, O.P., and the High Mass was sung by the Very Rev. Father Fabian Dix, Prior of St. Dominic's assisted by Father Innocent Apap as deacon, and Father Edwin Essex as subdeacon.

In connection with the centenary celebrations the Dominican Fathers have received, besides a message of greeting from His Holiness the Pope conveying the Apostolic Blessing to the Fathers, Brothers, and people, a telegram of congratulation from His Majesty the King, as follows:—

"The King sincerely congratulates the Dominican Friars of London celebrating their seventh centenary, and thanks them for their loyal message, which His Majesty much appreciates."

Announcement of a Holy Year.—On Christmas Eve of next year the celebration of the "Anno Santo," or "Holy Year," will begin at Rome and will be observed not only in the Eternal City, but also by the 273,000,000 members of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world.

It will be the twenty-second of the jubilees instituted by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1300 with such success that, as Dante tells us in his *Inferno*, a strong barrier had to be constructed along the bridge of the Holy Angels in order to keep the crowds flocking to St. Peter's from mingling with and obstructing those who were coming in a contrary direction. It is a matter of record that over 2,000,000 foreigners visited Rome in connection with the celebration.

The "Holy Years" were continued at intervals of fifty or twenty-five years until 1775. Owing to the Napoleonic wars and the presence of a French army of invasion in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century, the twentieth celebration was not held until 1825, during the Pontificate of Leo XII. In 1850 Pius IX. had been obliged by revolutionists to flee from the Eternal City to the Neapolitan stronghold of Gaeta, while in 1875 he felt too keenly the recent loss of the temporal power of the Papacy to be inclined to do anything in the shape of public festivities. In 1900, however, Leo XIII. returned to the custom last observed by Leo

XII. in 1825, and inaugurated the present century with the celebration of the twenty-first of these jubilees; and now Pius XI. has announced that the next and twenty-second "Holy Year" is to receive its celebration throughout 1925, the observance beginning on the eve of Christmas, 1924, with a solemn ceremony in St. Peter's at Rome.

Pius XI. has determined to make this celebration memorable in the annals of the Church over which he exercises spiritual jurisdiction.

Cardinal Van Rossum, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide has issued an invitation to take part in and to promote the project of signalizing the "Holy Year" by a great international exhibition, to be held in the Vatican Palace, of the methods, the nature and the achievements of the Catholic missionary activities in every corner of the globe.

The Holy Father is anxious that in view of the popular encouragement and support given to the well-nigh ubiquitous mission work of the Church, its members and the subscribers to this vast international undertaking should have some opportunity of visualizing the scope of the work and the far-reaching nature of its endeavors. Every diocese, every religious order that has at heart some special missionary enterprise of its own to which it devotes its particular efforts, will be accorded the opportunity of bringing to the attention of its co-religionists and of the public in general the nature of its good work in this connection, and especially of its fruition and success.

But Pius XI. does not propose to limit the celebration of the next "Anno Santo" to this international exhibition at the Vatican. The Holy Father has a far more important project in view for 1925. The resumption of the deliberations of the last Ecumenical Council in the Basilica of St. Peter. The last Ecumenical Council, the twentieth in the history of the Church since the Council of Nicea in A. D. 325—the first one to be held since the Council of Trent in 1563 was brought to a premature close, after eight months' deliberations, by the sudden outbreak of war between France and Germany in 1807.

If Pius XI. follows the example of Pius IX. he will issue special bulls conveying invitations to the Bishops and Archbishops of the Oriental and Orthodox Greek rites, to the Lutheran Bishops of Scandinavia, to the Protestant Bishops of Great Britain and of the United States, indeed, to the responsible heads of all other Christian denominations on the broad ground that all people who have received Christian baptism are included in the brotherhood of Christianity, and are entitled to give their views, if not to vote in an Ecumenical Council which is held in the interests and for the welfare of Christianity.

The Ecumenical Council, which it is hoped may open on Christmas Eve of next year on the occasion of the beginning of the celebration of the "Anno Santo" at Rome, may, if the invitations are issued on the same scale as they were by Pius IX. in 1869, develop into the greatest international Christian congress—that the world has ever seen since the foundation of Christianity nearly two thousand years ago.

An Historical Shrine.—The Isle of La Motte in Lake Champlain is of great historical interest for all Americans, and especially for Catholics, for, besides the happenings there centuries ago and during the early years of the Republic, it has a Shrine of St. Anne which is visited each summer by thousands of pilgrims from Vermont, of which the Island is a part, and from other New England states as well as from New York and Canada.

Two months earlier than the discovery of the Hudson River, that is to say in July, 1609, Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, who in 1608 had founded the City of Quebec in Canada, discovered the lake which bears his name and doubtless visited the Islands in it, including the beautiful Isle La Motte.

When the first white man settled on the American continent, Lake Champlain was a thoroughfare much traveled by contending Indian tribes, and also by the French missionaries who preached the Gospel and imparted Christian culture to the wild inhabitants of those regions. In August, 1642, Father Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit whom the Iroquois had captured, together with a band of twenty Algonquins and two Catechists, was detained one night on the island. Father Jogues already had suffered much, and additional tortures are believed to have been imposed on him here. His martyrdom took place four years later at Auriesville, N. Y.

Isle La Motte figured in the French and Indian wars, in the Anglo-French war as well as in the war of the American revolution and the war of 1812. On July 20, 1666, a fort was completed there by Captain La Motte of the French army, for whom the Island was named, and formally dedicated to St. Anne. A few days later (July 26) her feast day was fittingly celebrated by the soldier. What is believed to have been the first Mass celebrated in Vermont was said by Father Dubois, the regiment's chaplain. As winter approached that year the soldiers built a permanent Chapel which was also dedicated to St. Anne.

Credit is due for the Shrine of St. Anne of Isle La Motte to the late Bishop Amadeus Rappe, who, in 1870, resigned his See of Cleveland and retired to the Diocese of Burlington, Vt., to live with his old friend and co-worker, Bishop Louis De Goesbriand. Bishop Rappe did missionary work on the island, saying Mass there twice a month and instructing the settlers. He had frequently expressed a desire to have a Shrine built there and often discussed the matter with Bishop De Goesbriand.

Bishop Rappe died in 1877, but his work was carried on by Bishop Goesbriand, a Breton by birth and a devout client of St. Anne. In 1892 he purchased a piece of land at Pointe St. Anne, which was the site of the first fort and Chapel.

A Chapel was erected in time for the feast of St. Anne in 1893. On that day the Bishop dedicated the Chapel and blessed a statue of St. Anne and a cross thirty-two feet high on the shore. He was assisted by priests of the Sulpician and Jesuit orders whose members had ministered to the needs of the French soldiers there in the seventeenth century.

There were gathered around the new Shrine about 2000 persons.

After an act of consecration read by the Bishop, the relic of St. Anne was offered for the veneration of the faithful, and thus ended the first pilgrimage which opened an era of fame and blessings for the whole island.

Since that time pilgrimages have multiplied and a confraternity has been established. Numerous spiritual and temporal graces and favors have been obtained at this Shrine.

An Important Pontifical Document.—A recent document of the Holy See exhorts the Italian Episcopate to conserve with religious diligence and intelligent love that rich patrimony of ancient parchments and cards, manuscripts and published books of artistic workmanship that constitute a testimonial to the great mission of the church in the field of culture, a most precious heredity of Italy, admired by all other nations.

Such an heredity, says the Pontifical document, is an eloquent testimonial to the activity and influence of the Church, as of faith and piety, of studies and good taste, which should be preserved to posterity to be administered wisely for the benefit of religion, the arts and sciences, and for the dissipation of evil doctrines and the furtherance of the glorious mission of the Church.

In former times the Holy See disseminated like appeals for the preservation of such documents and testimonials, attributing to them the utmost importance. During the Pontificate of Leo XIII and again under Pius X such documents were widely spread among the clergy. And now the voice of Pius XI reiterates the same message to the end that these prescriptions may be followed with religious observance. Bishops are invited to procure, when possible, from among their ecclesiastical subjects, well-instructed librarians and archivists for the conservation and direction of libraries in seminaries and museums etc. His Holiness further recommends the careful and diligent compilation of catalogues, indexes, codices and parchments which shall aid in perpetuating these treasures.

The Extent of Catholic Missions.—An instructive idea of the tremendous extent of Catholic mission undertakings in various parts of the world is presented by a perusal of statistics of Catholic missions which have just been published.

From one end of the world to the other the Catholic missionary is carrying on his noble work, assisted by the prayers and alms of the faithful at home. The undertakings in general and their particular manifestations in the various splendid works performed far and wide are a splendid tribute to the vitality of the Church today.

Of the Catholics in the world it is recorded that approximately 30,000,000 dwell in various missionary countries, as they are called. The total of the personnel in charge of the work numbers 83,324 persons. Of these 5837 are listed as native missionaries and 7933 fall within the domain of foreign missionaries.

The remainder of the numbers includes more than 5000 lay Brothers,

21,320 catechists and 17,450 teachers, an imposing array in itself.

Passing to the mission stations, the statistics show that of these there are 42,968. There are 28,470 churches and chapels, 409 hospitals carrying on their beneficent work in various places; 1263 orphanages doing excellent work in their field; 1183 asylums and 62 printing establishments, all contributing their share to the welfare of those under their care.

The statistics give the number of students who are preparing themselves for service in the missions as 5912, all of whom are studying theology.

The Monk Who Aided Columbus.—Unusual festivities characterized the celebration of the fourth centenary of Fray Diego de Deza, the famous Spanish Dominican friend and protector of Christopher Columbus, held recently.

As it was through Fray Diego de Deza that the great navigator succeeded in obtaining a hearing and winning the support of the Spanish rulers, it is considered that he has deserved well of Spain and that his name should be forever blessed.

The rector of the Central University, the Argentine Ambassador and the Ministers of Portugal and Chili participated officially. Various prizes of 5,000 pesetas each were offered for the best historical, political and economic works concerned with the study of the Dominican monk and relations between Europe and America.

One of these prizes was offered by the Minister of Public Instruction who, with the President of the Ibero-American Union and the President of the Royal Academy was actively interested in the celebration.

Various South American countries have recently designated October 12 as the "Day of the Race", it was felt to be especially fitting that the celebration in honor of the friend and protector of Christopher Columbus should be held on that date.

A Tribute to Attic Scholarship.—Harriet Mulry O'Malley writing in *America* says that the famous Ambrosian Library, of which Pope Pius XI was formerly librarian owes its origin to the life work of St. Columbanus. She says:

To understand how this treasury of the culture and learning of Greece and Rome should be due to the efforts of the Irish monks we must look across the waters to the southern shore of Carrick-Feergus Bay, in the county of Down, Ireland. Here, during the sixth century, in 555, at Bangor, "the White Gulf," named for Banchoir in Wales, and later called the "Valley of the Angels," St. Comgall established the School of Bangor from which over 4,000 monks went forth during the life of its founder.

Researches of renowned Celtic scholars, among them Dr. W. Reeves, Rev. G. T. Stokes, Dr. H. Zimmer, and Kuno Meyer, have convincingly proved that it was in the numerous schools founded in Ireland by these monks and their successors that the culture of the ancients was fostered and preserved during the age in which Rome was laid in ruins by Goths and Vandals.

Following this upheaval, when interest in learning again spread over Europe, it was the particular mission of the Irish monks, going forth from the peaceful seclusion of their monasteries, to restore the knowledge of the classics. It is one of the paradoxes of history that modern civilization is indebted to Ireland, rather than to these countries which came under the military rule or social influences of Rome, for the preservation of its ancient culture and its regeneration.

Among the names of the monks who went out from Bangor, names still to be seen to-day on banners and seals of Swiss cantons, in abbeys on the Danube, and given yet in Baptism in the villages of the Vosges, that of St. Columbanus is most universally known and honoured. His earliest labours at Annegrai and Luxeuil, in Burgundy, in the Vosges district, and later at Bregentz, Switzerland, on Lake Constance, now St. Gall, resulted in the establishment in those places of three of the first schools in Europe. The two latter were destined to become the most famous of their time, together with the great school St. Columbanus established at Bobbio, near Milan, which became so favoured a seat of learning that its prestige grew until its culmination under Cardinal Borromeo.

When the Arian heresy made its last stand in Europe during the reign of Pope Gregory the Great, about 590, Milan under the Lombards, was the centre of the sect in Italy. Constantius, Bishop of Milan, in 595 induced Columbanus to withdraw from the monastery he had founded at Luxeuil in Burgundy, to combat the teachings of the Arian followers in Milan. According to the monk Jonas, who wrote the first life of St. Columbanus, his mission at Milan was singularly successful, completely silencing the Arians and converting Agilulph, King of the Lombards. In return the king granted St. Columbanus the region around Bobbio, near Milan. Its founder made this abbey a "citadel of orthodoxy against the Arians, lighting then a lamp of knowledge and instruction which long illumined Northern Italy."

An outstanding feature of this abbey was its library. A catalogue made in the tenth century, a model of its kind to this day, noting donors and authors, showed it had without doubt the largest collection of manuscripts in Europe at that time. A later catalogue in 1461 accounted for 280 volumes, each composed of collections by several authors, but as recent discoveries have shown the great number of codices taken from this library to others throughout Europe, neither of these lists can be more than a partial one. Besides the manuscripts and codices which Cardinal Borromeo placed in the Ambrosian Library in 1609, others were given by him to the Vatican Library in 1618 under the reign of Pope Paul V. Besides the works in these two libraries which came from Bobbio others are still recognized in the libraries of Naples and Vienna, and seventy were known to have been removed to Turin before the monarchy, as Bobbio was suppressed by the French in 1803.

At the time that Pope Pius XI. came to take charge of the Ambrosian Library with its 200,000 volumes, the collection of 8,500 manuscripts had

not been classified or placed in the conspicuous positions their antiquity and priceless value merited. Recognizing their worth in church history and their supreme interest to students, Pope Pius undertook the tremendous task of making this treasure of value to the world. Hence to-day visitors may see in the rows of glass-covered mahogany cases the rare manuscripts from Bobbio, several of the greatest value and interest.

The one most intimately connected with Columbanus is a codex brought from Bobbio, containing a commentary on the Psalms written in Latin, supposed by reputable scholars to have been written by the Saint himself while a student in an Irish monastery before he went to Bangor. Its marginal notes and glosses in ancient Irish give it a unique value and render it one of the intrinsically priceless manuscripts of all ages. It contains also a careful comment on the Thirty-fourth Psalm written in Irish on a slip of parchment in a "hand of exquisite clearness and delicacy."

One may also see the Psalterium or Antiphony of Bangor, a book of hymns expressly for the use of the monks of that community. It is written in Latin, but the very titles offer indisputable internal evidence of its Irish origin. It contains the "Hymn of Sechnall (an Irish priest, contemporary of St. Patrick) to St. Patrick," "Hymn of St. Congall our Abbot," and "Versicles of the Family of Benchor" (Bangor). This manuscript, according to Muratori, was bequeathed with many others to Bobbio by Dungall, a monk from Bangor, who died at Bobbio after 824. Another manuscript included in Dungall's bequest bears an inscription by Dungall in which he calls himself a fellow-country-man of St. Columbanus, and a member of the community at Bobbio. Among the Ambrosian manuscripts testifying to the greatness of the Irish monks is one written by a hymn-writer of the seventh century as a tribute to the missionary work in Italy by the monks from Bangor.

"Holy is the rule of Bangor. Blessed is its community—a ship that is never submerged, though beaten by the waves. A house full of delight, founded upon a rock. Truly an enduring city, strong and fortified. A princess meet for Christ, clad in the sun's light. A truly regal hall adorned with gems."

The value placed upon the classic Latin writers, and the extent of their study in the ancient Irish schools is attested by the most priceless among the Ambrosian treasures, a remarkable collection of the palimpsests containing among other works some unpublished fragments of Cicero, all originally belonging to Bobbio.

The study of the Scriptures formed such an important part of the instruction in the monasteries of Ireland that many students from the Continent went there to acquire this knowledge during the eighth and ninth centuries. The ancient catalogues of Bobbio enumerate many Scriptural writings and almost without exception the oldest manuscripts of this class wherever discovered in the libraries of Europe have been proved to be transcribed by Irish monks. It is, then, of singular interest

to note that the earliest catalogue of the New Testament books is one of the Ambrosian manuscripts which Borromeo brought from Bobbio. This document is exceedingly valuable to all students of the New Testament. It appears to have been transcribed in the eighth century from a manuscript written by one who claimed to be a contemporary of Pius, who was Bishop of Rome in the second century.

Bearing in mind the illustrious part of St. Columbanus in perpetuating the fame of the Ambrosian Library, its visitors who may proudly lay claim to the same lineage as his, no doubt, wish to go out into the hills of Bobbio to kneel at the shrine where they may read: "Here rests in peace Holy Father Columban Abbot."

Une Communauté Canadienne au Chili.—The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (Quebec) in its June issue discusses the establishment of a Canadian Community in Chili:

Le Chili s'étend entre le 19° et le 56° parallèles sud, l'Océan Pacifique et les Landes. Une grande partie de la population du Chili provient des alliances entre Espagnols et Araucans. La langue espagnole domine donc dans ce pays. Les rares Canadiens qui ont visité le Chili se doutaient-ils qu'une des communautés religieuses les plus prospères de ce pays a été fondée par des Canadiennes-françaises parties de Montréal?

Le 16 octobre 1852, Mgr. Bourget donnait à cinq Soeurs de la Providence, communauté dont il était le fondateur, l'obédience requise pour aller fonder un établissement en Orégon.

Deux jours plus tard, le 18 octobre, cinq Soeurs de la Providence, dirigées par un chapelain, partaient de Montréal pour leur lointaine destination. Arrivées en Orégon le 30 novembre, les Soeurs de la Providence se trouvèrent en face d'un état de choses qui les déconcerta. La population blanche désertait le pays, les sauvages s'enfonçaient dans les bois. Les Soeurs constatèrent tout de suite qu'elles ne pourraient remplir dans ce pays les obligations qu'elles avaient contractées par leurs vœux formels.

Prise de découragement, la petite communauté rebroussa chemin. Elle séjourna quelque temps en Californie, puis décida de retourner au Canada en passant par le Cap Horn. Après une série d'inconcevables épreuves, les Soeurs de la Providence débarquèrent au Chili où, encouragées par les autorités religieuses et toute la population, elles fondèrent un établissement à Santiago.

Dix ans plus tard, en 1863, les Soeurs de la Providence au Chili étaient au nombre de vingt-quatre. Dix-sept religieuses de la maison-mère de Montréal étaient venues prêter main forte aux courageuses missionnaires et trois Chiliennes s'étaient jointes à elles. La communauté possédait alors deux maisons à Santiago et une à Valparaiso. Les oeuvres étaient prospères et les Soeurs étaient heureuses de se dévouer au soin des orphelins.

Mais, tout à coup des difficultés surgirent, et le supérieure décida de venir s'entendre verbalement avec les autorités de la maison-mère à

Montréal. L'archevêque nomma alors une nouvelle supérieure, ce qui provoqua une scission dans la communauté.

Après le départ de la supérieure, la majeure partie de la communauté se rangea sous l'autorité de l'assistante, qui, d'après les constitutions, devait suppléer la supérieure en son absence. Sommées en vertu de l'obéissance de se soumettre à la supérieure nommée par l'archevêque, les Soeurs acceptèrent la nouvelle supérieure; mais la plupart demandèrent de retourner à leur maison-mère et s'embarquèrent aussitôt pour le Canada. Quatorze religieuses abandonnèrent donc définitivement les missions du Chili pour revenir à Montréal.

Trois Soeurs canadiennes, trois chiliennes et deux jeunes professes venues séculières de Montréal—soit huit religieuses en tout—continuèrent de diriger les maisons de Santiago et de Valparaiso et de recruter des novices.

Ce sont ces huit religieuses qui ont perpétué les Soeurs de la Providence au Chili. Aujourd'hui les Soeurs de la Providence possèdent une vingtaine de maisons de leur ordre dans ce pays et y font beaucoup de bien.

Cette odyssée ne ressemble-t-elle pas à un roman? Pourtant elle est vraie du commencement à la fin. Pour en connaître toute l'histoire, les lecteurs du *Bulletin* n'ont qu'à se procurer un ouvrage publié à Montréal en 1921, sous le titre *Les Soeurs de la Providence au Chili, 1853-1863*. C'est dans cet intéressant volume que nous avons pris presque textuellement les lignes qui précèdent.

A Benedictine Priory at the Catholic University of America. A group of educators, lay and clerical, who have determined to become Benedictine monks with the object of opening a department of scientific research at the Catholic University of America left New York in the early days of August for Scotland.

Included in the group are Rev. John B. Diman, a convert from the Anglican Church and afterwards ordained priest by Bishop Haid, O.S.B., Abbot of Belmont Abbey, N. C.; Rev. Thomas V. Moore, Ph.D., of the Catholic University; Rev. Dr. John E. Haldi, M.D., of the Covington Diocese, who has been working with Dr. Martin H. Fisher, of the Medical College of the University of Cincinnati; Dr. Baldwin, instructor of history at Harvard; an expert chemist, and Dom Brosnahan.

St. Benedict Abbey, Fort Augustus, is the place selected by the group for their studies and monastic training. This monastery is picturesquely situated on the shores of Loch Ness, in the Highlands of Scotland, a place of quiet repose and ideal for the development of monastic spirituality.

The movement has been warmly endorsed by Archbishop Curley, of Baltimore, Bishop Shahan of the Catholic University, Bishop Haid, and all the authorities of the Benedictine Order of this country and Great Britain, who were made aware of the plans and the intention of the group.

The object is the improvement of the health of mankind through solutions of problems by research; and the reasons for choosing the Benedictine Order as the means of attaining this object, is explained by one of the group in the following statement:

Since the announcement of the project of founding a Benedictine Priory for research, at the Catholic University in Washington, interest in the movement has become widespread. To those acquainted with the Benedictine Rule and life, the thought of implanting it in the fruitful soil of this great center of learning and culture has brought joy; while others, touched by the novelty of the idea, have tried to grasp its length and breadth by a renewed scrutiny of the spirit and work of the great law-giver of monasticism.

At a time when the swirling tide of barbarism descended upon the tottering civilization of the Roman Empire, and for the first time, the throne of Caesar was occupied by a stranger, Odoacer, St. Benedict was born. There was a clash of rugged manhood with decadent culture: an opposition of mind arose between them which, unless it could be removed by some basis of mutual understanding, spelled ruin. A melting-pot was needed; and, at Monte Casino, the scion of Rome's aristocracy became the brother of the muscular invader.

Benedict was marvellous. Coming to Rome to study, he put one foot in the world, but hastily drew it back. For three years he lived in a grotto, whence he could see the ruined villa of Nero and learn therefrom that all is vanity. Tamer of rough soldiers and rude monks, educator of children, worker of prodigies, man of prayer, spirit undaunted, he lived in labor, and died standing up, sustained by the arms of his disciples. 'God,' he said, 'has made no difference between the soul of the slave and that of the freeman; whether the novice be rich or poor, bond or free, young or old, we must not enquire.'

Warrior and politician, predatory baron and humble serf, strong and weak alike, came to the gates of the monastery. 'And so it befalls,' says Charles Kingsley, 'that, in the early Middle Ages, the cleverest men were inside the convent, trying, by moral influence and superior intellect, to keep those outside from tearing each other to pieces.'

The present movement was inaugurated by a small group of men, who, as early as 1921, began to consider the possibilities of uniting their efforts at scientific work and leading the monastic life.

Science and Ethnology.—The *New York Times* says:

The holy war between Nordic and anti-Nordic enthusiasts is rudely interrupted by Professor Vernon Kellogg in *The New Republic*. Speaking as a scientist, he observes that what is needed before we begin generalizing about Nordic virtue is the discovery of facts. "We need more knowledge, which can only come from more, much more scientific study." He admits that the Nordic race, "as far as it can be defined as a distinguishable race," seems to be a good stock; but so little is known as yet about the laws of human cross-breeding that it is too soon to say what will or will not result from mixing the Nords with the lesser breeds without the law.

Even in this statement the qualification is important. Who are the Nords? What became of the peoples who occupied the Nordic countries before them? They are not the aborigines of the larger part of North-

ern Europe. Is there a Nordic race at all? Well, it is perhaps safer to follow Professor Kellogg's admirable counsel, and wait till we find out a few more facts. It is certainly true, as he says, that our immigration problem is not so much one of race as of quality. "It is not, probably, so much the importance of the difference in races—although there is undoubtedly something in this—as it is the difference between the samples we actually get and the samples we would prefer to get of any of these races."

However, this is to ignore the purpose of this sort of popular ethnology. The object of racial science is the production of useful sacred myths for the moral support of the Pan-German Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and kindred organizations of light-bringers. The Klan, for instance, must rationalize its real motives, and the Nordic theory enables its members to pose as crusaders with somewhat more confidence. Whole nations, for that matter, have found this mythological ethnology useful. Who has forgotten our friends the Anglo-Saxons, so expert in the quantity production of constitutional precedents and the institutions of free government? All through the nineteenth century every schoolboy knew that they were responsible for England's greatness. Between the barbarism of the Celtic fringe and the degeneracy of Latinized Western Europe they had maintained an unsullied island of constitutional procedure and common law. But all this has been changed since 1914, when it was suddenly discovered that Englishmen were, after all, predominantly of Celtic and Latin blood.

Then there were the inevitable Norman conquerors. A Spanish writer has lately been unkind enough to call attention to the fact that Duke William's filibustering expedition attracted landless men and soldiers of fortune from all over France. His army was perhaps less Scandinavian than the Danish-Saxon-Celtic race it conquered. France, too, has had her ethnological ebbs and flows. Teleological historians of Revolutionary days explained that the royal family and the aristocracy represented the remnants of the Teutonic invaders, now expelled. In the last days of the Consulate it was explained that France must reconcentrate Western European culture in a Gallo-Roman empire.

Subsequently, however, this very term Gallo-Roman gave rise to dispute. Was France a Latin Country, with only a trace of aboriginal Celtic blood? Yes, when it was convenient. Was France a reservoir of Celtic virtue, resisting the corruptions of Mediterranean Latinity? Very often, when, relations with Spain and Italy were strained. In ethnology, the demand creates the supply. Professor Kellogg's plea for a little observation and inductive reasoning deserves more support than it is likely to get from Nordic enthusiasts.

History and Legend.—The *New York Times* says of the late President Harding's utterance at the Old Oregon Trail celebration:

Mr. Harding's repetition at the Old Oregon Trail Celebration of the myth that Marcus Whitman "saved Oregon" reflects a certain imaginative

and poetical feeling, but history is not poetry or legend or mythical invention. He said afterward that he knew that the story was a "subject of controversy." Whether it is correct or not, it is "an inspiration which should be handed down from generation to generation." It is hardly a subject of controversy in Oregon. The Portland Oregonian, whose late distinguished editor, Harvey W. Scott, exposed the Whitman myth many years ago, recites the facts at length. Whitman, it says, "deserves above all to have it said of him that he requires no spurious halo to confirm his just fame."

Mr. Frederick V. Holman, President of the Oregon Historical Society the last fifteen years, ranks the Whitman romance with stories of ghosts and fairies. There is a long list of historians who have discredited it, some of them, like John Fiske, after having incautiously accepted it. Mr. William L. Marshall, who spent nearly thirty years on his monumental work, "The Acquisition of Oregon," a believer at first, finally demolished the myth. It has not a leg left to stand on. "If it is not literally true, it ought to be," said Mr. Harding.

There is not a particle of evidence for the authenticity of the language attributed, in such amusing fullness, to President Tyler, Daniel Webster and Dr. Whitman in 1842. This imaginary conversation seemed never to have been heard of before 1864, and is not referred to by Dr. Whitman or by anybody who pretends to have been told by him. There is no evidence that Mr. Webster called Oregon "a barren waste fit only for wild beasts and wild men," or that he proposed to "barter Oregon for the cod and mackerel fisheries of Newfoundland." To speak only of this detail, ought a story to be true which misrepresents and calumniates one of the greatest statesmen? Hundreds of thousands of persons have read Mr. Harding's excursion into mythology. As Mr. Holman says, the error of the President consisted of giving in his address "official recognition" to the myth.

History at best is largely a guess selection among different accounts. Often it must be doubtful. Its truth can never be more than relative. Leave it to poets and writers of historical note to exploit its legends or to add new inventions of their own. That is the legitimate right. The imperative duty of the sober historian is to find and relate the facts, to the best of his ability and judgment. The missionary service of Dr. Whitman is great. Why dress him in borrowed robes? The mythopeic tendency is strong among all peoples. It is fettered too much by official biographers. The historical knowledge of a good many persons consists of an enthusiastic belief in a few things that are not sure. Divers worthy citizens refuse to have our Colonial or Revolutionary or late worthies painted otherwise than as flawless saints. Thoughtful men and women knowing how misty and doubtful history necessarily is, want its figure drawn as near the original as honest painstaking effort will suffice, with new smug, faultless faces, but as Cromwell said, with all their warts and wrinkles.

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